

THE ILLUMINATORS OF THE  
MENOLOGIUM OF BASIL II

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ONE of the most famous Byzantine manuscripts in existence, *Vaticanus Graecus 1613*,<sup>1</sup> is the only surviving Byzantine codex whose illuminations are accompanied by names that can be interpreted as signatures. This codex, commonly called the Menologium of Basil II, was executed under the auspices of that Emperor, and thus must be dated between 976 and 1025.<sup>2</sup> In spite of its current name, it is a synaxarium consisting of illustrated notices, one per page, on saints, inventions of their relics, and great feasts, for each day<sup>3</sup> of the first six months of the ecclesiastical year, from September 1 to the end of February. Of the manuscript's four hundred and thirty miniatures, fifteen lack the accompanying text, and two both the text and the title, a proof that the illustrations were executed first; but all of the miniatures are provided with a name in the margin, an indication that great importance was attached to the labeling of each illustration. All the "signatures" were appended by the scribe of the texts.<sup>4</sup> Thus the labeling must have been done simultaneously with the writing of these texts, or only very shortly before or after it.

In all, eight different names accompany the four hundred and thirty miniatures. In order of appearance they occur as follows: Pantoleon (seventy-nine times), Michael of Blachernae (sixty-one times), George (forty-five times), Symeon (thirty-two times), Michael the Younger (ὁ μικρός) (sixty-seven times), Menas (twenty-seven times), Nestor (seventy-one times), and Symeon of Blachernae (forty-eight times).<sup>5</sup> In every case but one, the word (τοῦ) ζωγράφου, "by the painter," precedes the name, whenever it appears for the first time.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Facsimile edition, with an introductory volume: *Il Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613)*, I, Testo; II, Tavole (1907) [= *Codices e Vaticanis selecti* . . . , VIII]; photographs of miniatures for September–November in M. and V. I. Uspenskij, *Licevoj mesjaceslov grečeskago imperatora Vasilija II* . . . , 3 fascicules (1902, 1903, 1906); most recent description: C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* . . . 1485–1683 (1950), pp. 276–278, with bibliography. For other bibliographical data cf. V. N. Lazarev, *Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*, I (1947), pp. 82 and 301, and the study by A. Frolow quoted *infra*, note 19. Cf. also H. Kenner, "Die frühmittelalterliche Buchmalerei und das klassische griechische Theater," *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, XXXIX (1952), pp. 47–53; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (1955), pp. 222–231, and Sergij, *Polnyj mesjaceslov vostoka*, I: *Vostočnaja agiologija* (Moscow, 1875), pp. 216–231 and 288–289, old but, in part, still valuable.

<sup>2</sup> S. Der Nersessian, "Remarks on the Date of the Menologium and the Psalter Written for Basil II," *Byzantion*, XV (1940–1941), pp. 104–125, has studied the text of the Menologium and proposed the years 979 and 989 as the *terminus post quem* and *ante quem* respectively for its execution. The first *terminus* seems assured; the second is plausible, but less firmly established, since part of the reasoning by which it is advanced rests on the argument from silence.

<sup>3</sup> Usually two to four pages are devoted to as many commemorations falling in one day. The minimum is one; the maximum, eight (October 4).

<sup>4</sup> It would be more exact, therefore, to speak of "attributions" by the scribe than of "signatures," if by the latter term one means only the artist's autograph.

<sup>5</sup> These figures, based on my own count, differ somewhat from those given in *Il Menologio di Basilio II* . . . , I, p. xvi.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 1, 4, 6, 8, 18, 22, 41. The exception is Symeon of Blachernae, whose name appears for the first time on p. 102, without the qualifying term ζωγράφου. In two instances of its first appearance (p. 8, Symeon, and p. 22, Menas) this term has been added by another hand, which, however, may have been contemporary with that of the principal scribe. In four instances (p. 34, Symeon; p. 38, Menas; p. 48, Michael of Blachernae; p. 64, Michael the Younger) the word (τοῦ) ζωγράφου, in the principal scribe's hand, stands in front of a name which has already been provided with this epithet. The reason for the

The evidence of the "signatures" seems to impose a simple conclusion: the names standing next to the illustrations are the names of their illuminators; the manuscript's miniatures are the result of team work and were painted by eight different masters. Until recently, this conclusion was universally accepted in scholarly literature. Simple as it was, it presented two major difficulties. First, it was difficult to correlate the eight postulated hands of the Menologium with as many varying styles. Attempts at isolating clusters of characteristics peculiar to the work of a given painter were not successful. Thus, when A. Venturi asserted that the particular trait of Pantoleon in painting the highlights on the garments of Christ was the use of broad strokes for the lighted areas, from which rays proceeded following the movement of the drapery,<sup>7</sup> C. Stornajolo, the author of the facsimile edition of the Menologium, pointed out that Michael of Blachernae, George, and Symeon also exhibited this trait.<sup>8</sup>

An explanation for the difficulty of correlating the supposed hands of the Menologium with particular styles was offered by Professor Weitzmann. According to him, conflicting styles within the work of the same painter were due to his reliance upon models displaying different stylistic characteristics. One and the same painter might use as his model a menologium, a lectionary, a Prophet book, an Octateuch, or a volume of a Church Father with the author's portrait as frontispiece, all depending on the subject called for by the commemoration on a particular day. More stylistic similarities would appear between two miniatures by different artists, each painting a prophet, than would appear between two miniatures by the same painter, one representing a Nativity, the other a Church Father.<sup>9</sup>

Still, a second difficulty remained: If the many miniatures of the Menologium were painted by eight different hands, how was one to explain their uniformity, bordering on monotony, which strikes even a trained observer's eye?<sup>10</sup> Because of this uniformity art historians' opinions differed as to which one of the eight was the "best" or the "worst" artist. While J. Labarte found the work of the masters Pantoleon and Nestor most satisfactory from the aesthetic point of view,<sup>11</sup> C. Bayet preferred that of Symeon to all the others.<sup>12</sup>

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repetition of the epithet next to the names of Symeon and Menas seems clear: the principal scribe introduced them on pp. 34 and 38 respectively, one quire too late. A corrector added the "introductions" on pp. 8 and 22, where they should have been made originally.—It is noteworthy that three out of four "belated" introductions occur at the beginning of a quire (pp. 34, 48, and 64, the probable original beginning of quire ε [5]).

<sup>7</sup> *Storia dell' arte italiana*, II (1902), p. 458. Analysis of the Menologium, *ibidem*, pp. 458–462.

<sup>8</sup> *Il Menologio di Basilio II* . . . , I, p. xvi. Cf. further remarks on pp. xvi and xvii, where the author pokes gentle fun at the other details of Venturi's analysis.

<sup>9</sup> *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (1947) (= *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, 2), pp. 200–205. Cf. also the same author's *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (1934), pp. 30–32, and *The Joshua Roll, A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance* (1948) (= *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, 3), p. 43, note 14.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the complaints of A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana* (1902), p. 461; G. Millet, in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, 1 (1905), p. 238; O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, II (1914), p. 529 (monotony of landscapes); O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art* . . . (1925), p. 316; Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, II (1926), pp. 632–634; J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (1926), p. 36.

<sup>11</sup> *Histoire des arts industriels au Moyen-Age et à l'époque de la Renaissance*, III (1865), p. 62.

<sup>12</sup> *L'art byzantin* (1883), p. 166.

N. Kondakov, who pronounced himself for Pantoleon's and Symeon's supremacy, relegated Nestor to the lowest rank,<sup>13</sup> while for Venturi, Nestor, with his search for variety in rendering draperies and costumes, was the most individualistic of the illuminators; as for Symeon of Blachernae, his work lacked refinement.<sup>14</sup>

The second difficulty was parried in general and intuitive terms. It was pointed out that in the Middle Ages, as opposed to the Renaissance, the style of the period was stronger than that of the artist. This was the reason for the failure of the Morellian method, which A. Venturi had applied to the Menologium.<sup>15</sup> It did not mean, however, that there were no stylistic differences among the manuscript's individual artists. Scholars maintained that these differences, barely, if at all, visible in the facsimile reproduction, could be ascertained on the original.<sup>16</sup> To be convinced, one had only to make the trip to the Vatican.<sup>17</sup> Nor was the specialist's aesthetic judgment proffered purely at random: the supposed master Pantoleon drew the majority of votes and the master George earned honorable mention.<sup>18</sup>

So matters stood until the appearance of Dr. A. Frolov's study in 1960.<sup>19</sup> Like many of his predecessors, Frolov was struck by the monotony of the Menologium's miniatures and noted the insufficiency of aesthetic criteria used to characterize the postulated eight artists of the manuscript.<sup>20</sup> He discovered no rhyme or reason to the distribution of signatures standing on the margins of the illustrations. Sometimes the same signature appeared on several consecutive pages, but in no instance did this continuity extend to an entire quire; sometimes, the recto and the verso of the same folio bore two different names.<sup>21</sup> Frolov concluded that the Menologium was executed not by eight masters, but by one, and that the eight names, hitherto interpreted as names of actual painters, were in reality the names of the authors of the original works copied by that one painter.<sup>22</sup> The Menologium appeared to Frolov as an anthology of "famous

<sup>13</sup> *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, II (1891), p. 104.

<sup>14</sup> *Storia dell'arte italiana*, II (1902), p. 460.

<sup>15</sup> K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* . . . , p. 205.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 204. Professor E. Kitzinger also subscribes to this opinion (oral communication).

<sup>17</sup> Such a trip was undertaken by Mr. C. Mango and myself in the summer of 1960, when we examined the Menologium. That we could do so at our leisure was due to the kindness of his Eminence Cardinal Anselmo Albareda, then Prefect of the Vatican Library. We wish to thank him for his generosity. I am indebted to Mr. Mango for many penetrating observations and suggestions, not all of which have been expressly acknowledged in the body of the present article.

<sup>18</sup> To the opinions of Labarte and Kondakov, add Unger as quoted in *Il Menologio di Basilio II* . . . , I, p. xvi; O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, II (1914), p. 530; K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei* . . . (1935), p. 31; V. N. Lazarev, *Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*, I (1947), p. 301; E. Kitzinger (oral communication).

<sup>19</sup> "L'origine des miniatures du Ménologe du Vatican," *Zbornik radova Srpske akademije nauka LXV-Vizantološki institut*, VI (1960), pp. 29-42.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 34 and 31.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 30 and 33.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38. Frolov usually speaks of one painter; once (p. 35) he admits that this one painter may have been aided by one or more anonymous assistants. Other objections raised by Frolov on p. 33 and in note 22, against the existence of a team of eight painters whose names are given by the "signatures" of the Menologium, are as follows: 1. often, instead of the name, we read τοῦ αὐτοῦ, "by the same," replacing the name proper; this would have been inconceivable if we were dealing with true signatures; 2. all the names are written by the same hand; 3. they are given in the genitive, while formulae designating creators of art works are different; 4. sometimes, the names are written in



paintings" (elsewhere in his study he spoke of "frescoes, wall mosaics, or portable icons") preserved in Constantinople at the time of Basil II.<sup>23</sup>

This was a revolutionary conclusion.<sup>24</sup> If true, it would acquaint us with an anonymous individual having unusual stamina and a great bent for research; a man capable of grinding out the miniatures for the Menologium for the patient Emperor perhaps in two years of labor; also a man willing to collect material for his illustrations from many different sources, which, however, would themselves have been the work of only eight artists. Moreover, if true, this conclusion would give a new explanation for the presence of many antique details in the "non-functional" parts of the Menologium's miniatures, such as the bas-reliefs on the saints' sarcophagi and on wells, and the nude statues of pagan gods or the caryatids. According to Frolov, what hitherto had been explained by the general Hellenizing tendencies manifest in Byzantine art of the tenth century, would now be an expression of the personal tastes of one man.<sup>25</sup>

Frolov's was a legitimate hypothesis. It was true that at the time he wrote "no proof had been put forward which would allow us to assert with certainty" that the names we read in the Menologium were indeed the names of its miniaturists.<sup>26</sup> And Venturi's Morellian method did fail to establish a convincing correlation between names and styles.

The problem thus having been reopened—and we should be grateful to Frolov for reopening it—two related, but not identical, questions must be asked again: Are the names in the Menologium's margins those of illuminators? If so, are the miniatures of the Menologium by the respective hands of these same illuminators? The answer to these two questions will lead back to the conventional interpretation. I think that I can put forward a reasonable semblance of that proof the absence of which made Frolov's hypothesis possible. I shall do so by suggesting a system in the distribution of the Menologium's "signatures," and consequently the manner in which a team of several painters worked on the manuscript. The main approach will be that of a

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*rasura*, which excludes the idea of true signatures.—All these objections are subsidiary to the two main ones, which I mentioned in the text: nobody has provided a valid criterion for differentiating the postulated eight hands of the manuscript; there is no rhyme or reason to the distribution of the supposed painters' names among the leaves of the Menologium. There could have been a team of painters, even if the names we read are correct attributions rather than true signatures; in this case, these names could just as well be written by the same hand, stand in the genitive, and τοῦ αὐτοῦ could refer to the nearest previous attribution. The problem of erasures is interesting, but I shall attempt to show that these changes confirm, rather than invalidate, the assumption that the Menologium is a work of several masters.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 33 and 36.



<sup>24</sup> True, most scholars assumed models for the Menologium's miniatures. In particular, G. Millet suggested that they went back to local menologia or to icons of saints, produced at various localities where these saints had suffered martyrdom (cf. the chapter "L'art byzantin" in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, 1 [1905], p. 238), and N. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin* . . . , II (1891), p. 106, stated that some of the miniatures were reproductions of mosaics. But nobody, to my knowledge, had advanced the hypothesis of a single painter drawing his inspiration from various Constantinopolitan works of art.

<sup>25</sup> "L'origine des miniatures . . .," p. 38.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 32.

codicologist, not of an art historian. However, I shall also correlate the results obtained through the analysis of the manuscript's constitution with one secondary stylistic trait of the painter Pantoleon and one such trait of the painters Menas and Nestor. As this correlation will lead to meaningful results, I shall leave the examination of the remaining miniaturists to the acumen of professional art historians. To say this is to maintain that Venturi's method failed not because it was Morellian, but because it was not Morellian enough.<sup>27</sup>

The Menologium consists of twenty-eight numbered quires, preceded by one unnumbered sheet.<sup>28</sup> Diagrams representing each of these units will be the starting point of our discussion. Counting from the top, the following data appear on the diagrams: 1. *Page number* (as the present pagination starts with the first miniature, the first three pages of the sheet preceding the numbered quires are designated A, B, C). 2. *Name* standing in the margin of a miniature (symbols: P = Pantoleon, MB = Michael of Blachernae, G = George, S = Symeon, MM = Michael the Younger, Ms = Menas, N = Nestor, SB = Symeon of Blachernae; whenever the words τοῦ αὐτοῦ, "by the same," replace the name, the symbol of the closest preceding name is given in parentheses [e.g. (MM) on p. 157]); whenever the word (τοῦ) ζωγράφου precedes the name, this is indicated by the letter z in front of its symbol (e.g. zP on p. 1; in two cases [pp. 8 and 22] when this word is written *alia manu*, the letter z appears in italics); whenever the name has been corrected by the scribe, its symbol is followed by "cor" (e.g. MMcor on p. 18); the letter E in place of a name means that the page is void both of text and miniature (pp. B, C, and 362<sup>a</sup>). 3. *Day of the month* indicated on a page (when the day is stated directly, it appears in bold face; when the text merely has "on the same day," the date is given in italics; symbols: D = December, J = January, F = February). 4. *Thick dot* indicating the flesh side of a folio (this also affects the rulings, as they are always done for the whole sheet [*bifolium*, double folio], with incised lines on the hair side; thus the projecting lines are always on the flesh side). 5. Remarks on the *absence of text* (nt), or of *both text and title* (ntt) from the pages provided with miniatures.

Stubs are indicated by T (e.g. between pp. 41 and 42); separate folios glued together to form a sheet, by  (e.g. between pp. 132/133 and 138/139), or by  (e.g. between pp. 204/205 and 210/211), depending on the position of the stub above or below the other folio. When necessary, explanatory remarks, referring to pages, are given under the diagram of a quire.

<sup>27</sup> Professor Weitzmann, who finds Venturi's analysis unsatisfactory, remarks that Morelli's method should not be ruled out in the study of the Menologium. Cf. *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* . . . , p. 204. P. Buberl, "Das Problem der Wiener Genesis," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F., X (1936), p. 24, finds this method fruitful for studying paintings of the early Middle Ages, and applies it to the differentiation of artists' hands in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis.

<sup>28</sup> The Menologium underwent repeated rebindings (the last of them occurring after 1907), but the sequence of its folios remains correct. The dates which, directly or indirectly, are stated on its pages have helped to keep this sequence undisturbed. Original quiremarks, if they ever existed, have been cut off. The present quiremarks (only partly extant) date from the thirteenth century. Still, they reflect the original quire distribution. For one likely exception, see remarks concerning pp. 64/65 of the Menologium, in the diagram of quire δ (4).

## Unnumbered Sheet

A	B	C	1
	E	E	zP
•	?		September, indiction

Fold area repaired with strip of thin parchment on both sides. Thus it is not clear whether A/B and C/1 form a true sheet. C/1: no rulings; it is impossible to distinguish between the flesh and hair sides of this folio (as verified by Rev. Paul Canart, *Scriptor* at the Vatican Library)

## SEPTEMBER

## Quire α (1)

2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
P	P	zMB	MB	zG	G	zS	S	S	S	G	P	MB	MB	P	P
1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	6
•		•	•			•		•		•		•			•

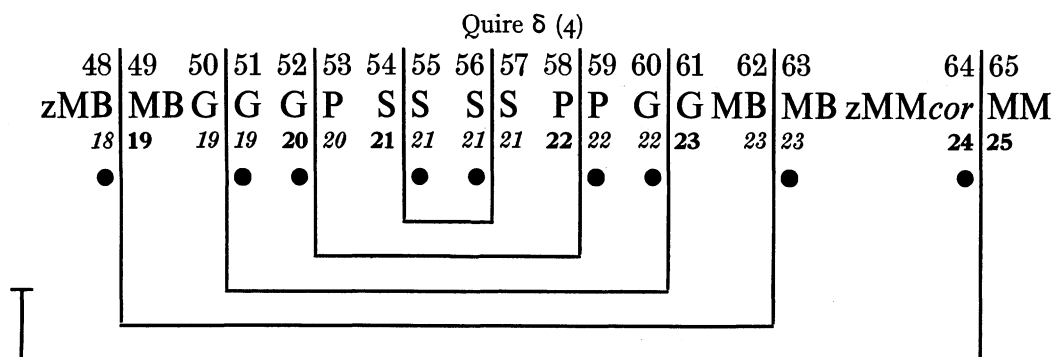
## Quire β (2)

18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
zMM <sub>cor</sub>	MM	MM	MM	zMs	Ms	MM	Ms	Ms	Ms	Ms	Ms	MM	MM	MM	MM
6	6	7	7	8	9	9	10	10	11	11	11	12	12	12	13
•		•	•	•			•	•		•		•			•

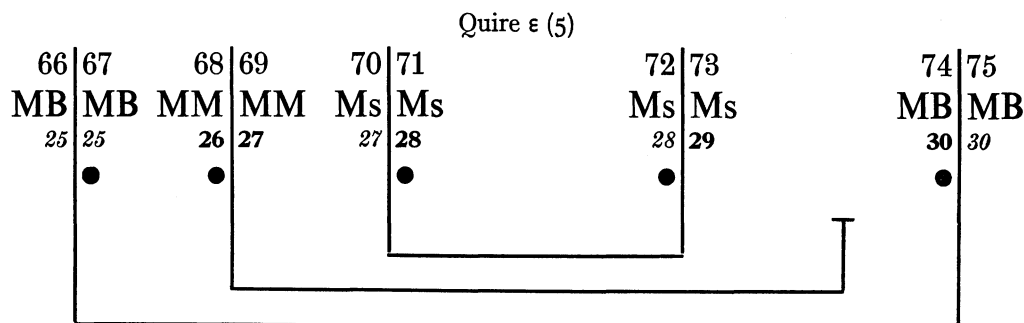
## Quire γ (3)

34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
zS	S	MB	MB	zMs	Ms	Ms	zN	Ms	Ms	MB	MB	S	S
13	14	14	15	15	15	15	15	<16>	17	17	17	18	18
•		•	•	•			•		•	•			•

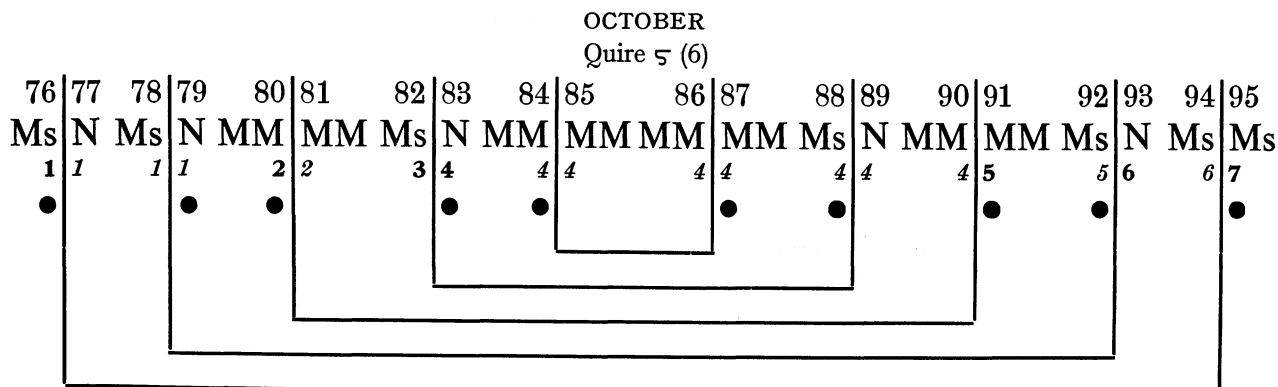
41/42: the folio missing between these pages has been cut out after the completion of the quire, since p. 41 (flesh) now faces p. 42 (hair), while the distribution of flesh and hair sides on folio 40/41 is normal. Moreover, at present there is no date "on September 16" in the Menologium, the only omission of this kind in the whole manuscript. Since this date stood on the missing folio, the caption "on the same day" on p. 42, celebrating Saint Melitine, must refer to September 16. Indeed, the synaxaria considered by H. Delehay (in *Synaxarium*... [as in note 40 *infra*]) celebrate Melitine on September 16. (Delehay's remark *ibidem*, p. 48, lines 37–38, is to be disregarded, since it refers to our Menologium, takes no account of the omission of one folio and interprets "on the same day" on p. 42 to mean September 15; his remarks *ibidem*, p. 50, lines 34–35 are factually wrong.) Of the two miniatures of the missing folio, at least the second one was devoted to September 16. I believe that both were devoted to that day, and that they must have represented the Saints Euphemia and Sebastiane respectively. Indeed, synaxaria Ba and Bb of H. Delehay (cf. *ibidem*, p. 50, line 35–p. 52, line 35), which usually reflect the arrangement of our Menologium, celebrate the Saints Euphemia, Sebastiane, Melitine—in that order—on September 16.



64/65: this folio may originally have stood at the beginning of the (next) quire ε (5). At present, the first recto of this quire is the hair side, an arrangement which does not occur in any other, regular or irregular, quire of our manuscript, and which is avoided in Byzantine manuscripts in general. If we assign folio 64/65 to quire ε (5), quire δ (4) becomes a regular quire, and quire ε (5), a quasi regular quire, starting with the flesh side, and having a stub at the end. (Originally there was a folio between pp. 73 and 74, cf. the remark on these pages in the diagram of quire ε [5].)

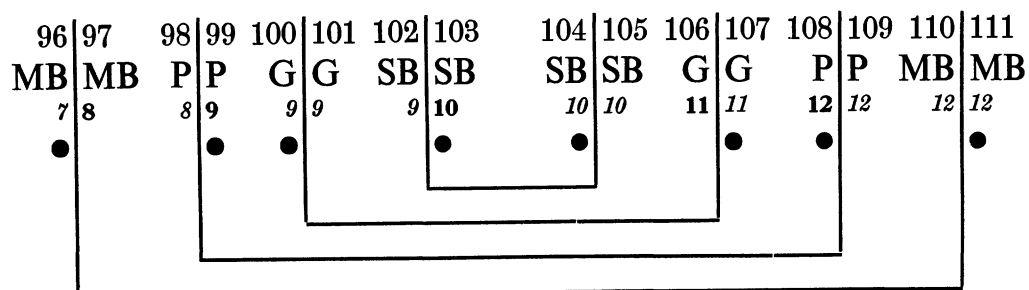
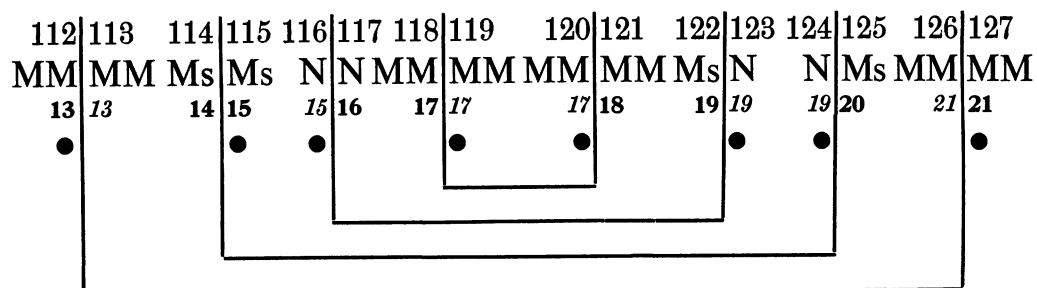
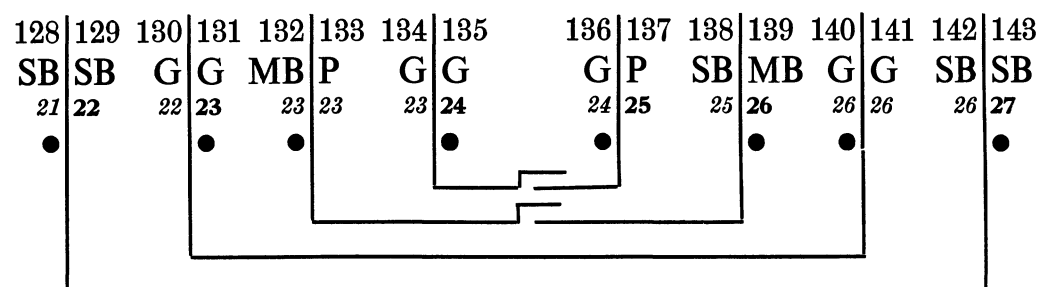


73/74: the folio missing between these pages has been cut out after the completion of the quire, since p. 73 (hair) now faces p. 74 (flesh), while the distribution of flesh and hair sides on folio 68/69 is normal. Both miniatures of the missing folio were devoted to September 29. One of them must have represented the martyrdom of Dadas, Gobdelaas, and Kasdoa. Cf. synaxaria Ba and Bb of H. Delehay (Synaxarium... [as in note 40 *infra*], p. 88, line 56), which celebrate Kyriakos (= p. 73 of our Menologium) and then the three aforementioned saints on September 29. As for the other miniature of the missing folio, it is difficult to guess at its contents. Perhaps it showed the saints drowned in Byzantium under Valens (cf. H. Delehay, *ibidem*, p. 89, line 38).

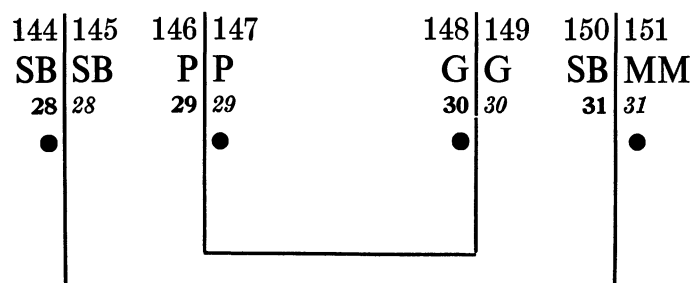


84/87: was this sheet added after the completion of the (regular) quire? This is suggested by the inordinate wealth of commemorations for October 4 (more numerous than for any other day in the Menologium), some of which are placed under October 3 or 5 in other synaxaria.

Quire 3 (7)

Quire  $\eta$  (8)Quire  $\theta$  (9)

Quire 1 (10)



## NOVEMBER

Quire 1 $\alpha$  (11)

152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167
SB <sub>cor</sub>	SB	P	P	MM	(MM)	P	SB	SB	(SB)	MM	MM	G	P	SB	SB
1	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	5	6	6	7	7	7
•		•		•			•		•		•		•		•

Quire 1 $\beta$  (12)

168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183
N	(N)	P	(P)	MB	(MB)	N	(N)	(N)	(N)	MB	(MB)	P	(P)	N	(N)
8	8	9	9	9	10	11	11	12	12	13	13	13	14	14	15
•		•		•			•		•		•		•		•

Quire 1 $\gamma$  (13)

184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199
N	N	S	(S)	MB	MB	N	N	(N)	N	MB	MB	S	(S)	N	N
15	15	16	16	17	18	18	19	19	20	20	20	20	20	21	22
•		•		•			•		•		•		•		•

Quire 1 $\delta$  (14)

200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215
P	(P)	MB	(MB)	P	P	N	(N)	(N)	(N)	MB	(MB)	(MB)	(MB)	G	(G)
23	24	24	24	25	25	25	25	26	27	28	28	28	29	29	30
•		•		•			•		•		•		•		•

## DECEMBER-FEBRUARY

## Quire 1ε (15)

216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231
G	(G)	MM	MM	MB	(MB)	G	P	G	P	MB	(MB)	MM	MM	G	P
D1	D1	D2	D2	D2	D3	D3	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9	D9	D9
•			•	•			•	•			•	•			•

## Quire 15 (16)

232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247
SB	SB	P	P	Scor	(S)	N	N	N	N	S	Scor	P	P	SB	SB
D9	D9	D10	D10	D11	D11	<D11>	D12	D12	D13	D13	D14	D14	<D14>	D15	D16
•			•	•		ntt	•	•			•	•			•

245: the words "on the same day" are absent from the caption. The Saints celebrated are Arrianus and the *protiktōres*, mentioned by other synaxaria on December 14 or 15.

## Quire 13 (17)

248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263
Scor	(S)	P	G	MM	(MM)	MB	(MB)	(MB)	(MB)	MM	(MM)	G	G	S	(S)
D16	D16		D17	D17	D17	D18	D19	D19	D19	D20	D20	D20	D21	D21	D21
•			•	•			•	•			•	•			•

250: caption — "on the same month, on Sunday, whenever it falls." It is the κυριακή τῶν προπατόρων.

## Quire 1η (18)

264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279
(S)	(S)	N	(N)	G	P	SB	(SB)	(SB)	(SB)	P	(P)	N	(N)	MB	(MB)
D22	D22	D22	D22	D22	D23	D24	D25	D25	D25	D26	D27	D28	D28	D28	D28
•			•	•			•	•			•	•			•

Quire ιθ (19)

280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297
P	P	MM	(MM)	P	P	SB	N	(N)	(N)	(N)	(N)	SB	N	MM	(MM)	G	(G)
<i>D28</i>	<i>D29</i>	<i>D29</i>	<i>D30</i>	<i>D30</i>	<i>D31</i>	<i>&lt;D31&gt;</i>	<i>J1</i>	<i>J1</i>	<i>J1</i>	<i>J2</i>	<i>J2</i>	<i>J3</i>	<i>J3</i>	<i>J4</i>	<i>J4</i>	<i>J4</i>	<i>J4</i>
•			•		•	•			•	•		•	•	•			•

ntt

284/5: this folio was inserted after the completion of the (otherwise regular) quire, since p. 283 (flesh) faces p. 284 (hair).

Quire κ (20)

298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313
(G)	(G)	N	N	N	N	P	P	P	P	MM <sub>cor</sub>	SB	N	N	S	(S)
<i>J5</i>	<i>J6</i>	<i>J7</i>	<i>J8</i>	<i>J9</i>	<i>J9</i>	<i>J9</i>	<i>J10</i>	<i>J10</i>	<i>J10</i>	<i>J10</i>	<i>J11</i>	<i>J11</i>	<i>J12</i>	<i>J12</i>	<i>J12</i>
•			•	•			•	•			•	•			•

nt

Quire κα (21)

314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329
MB	MB	P	P	SB	SB	MM	MM	(MM)	MM	G	SB	G	P	P	MB
<i>J13</i>	<i>J14</i>	<i>J14</i>	<i>J14</i>	<i>J14</i>	<i>J14</i>	<i>J14</i>	<i>J15</i>	<i>J15</i>	<i>J15</i>	<i>J16</i>	<i>J16</i>	<i>J16</i>	<i>J17</i>	<i>J17</i>	<i>J18</i>
•			•	•			•	•			•	•			•

nt

Quire κβ (22)

330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345
N	N	N	N	MB	MB	S	(S)	(S)	(S)	MB	MB	N	N	N	N
<i>J18</i>	<i>J18</i>	<i>J19</i>	<i>J19</i>	<i>J19</i>	<i>J20</i>	<i>J20</i>	<i>J20</i>	<i>J20</i>	<i>J21</i>	<i>J21</i>	<i>J22</i>	<i>J22</i>	<i>J22</i>	<i>J22</i>	<i>J22</i>
•			•	•			•	•			•	•			•



## Quire κγ (23)

346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361
P	P	P	P	N	N	MM	MM <sub>cor</sub>	(MM)	(MM)	N	N	P	P	P	P
J23	J23	J24	J25	J26	J26	J27	J27	J28	J29	J29	J29	J30	J30	J31	J31
•			•	•			•	•			•	•			•

## Quire κδ (24)

362	326 <sup>a</sup>	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376
MM <sub>cor</sub>	E	SB	SB	P	P	SB	N	N	N	P	P	SB	SB	MM <sub>cor</sub>	MM <sub>cor</sub>
J31		F1	F1	F2	F2	F3	F3	F4	F4	F4	F4	F5	F6	F6	F6
•		•	•	•			•	•	nt		•	•			•

## Quire κε (25)

377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394
SB	SB	P	P	P	P	P	P	SB	SB	(SB)	SB	P	P	P <sub>cor</sub>	G	G	SB
F6	F6	F7	F7	F7	F8	F8	F8	F8	F8	F9	F9	F10	F11	F11	F11	F12	F12
•		•	•	•	•	•			•	•			•	•			•
nt				nt					nt					nt			

383/4: this folio was inserted after the completion of the (otherwise regular) quire, since p. 382 (hair) faces p. 383 (flesh).

## Quire κς (26)

395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410
MB	(MB)	MM <sub>cor</sub>	(MM)	G	P	MM	(MM)	(MM)	(MM)	P	(P)	MM	N	MB	(MB)
F13	F13	F13	F13	F14	F14	F15	F15	F15	F16	F16	F16	F17	F17	F17	F17
•			•	•	nt	nt	•	•			•	•			•



tures are “signed” so that one and the same name occurs on each of the quire’s sheets.

In the remaining regular quires of the manuscript, this principle is disturbed, but not significantly. Four times it holds true except for one “signature” out of sixteen (quires  $\alpha$  [1],  $\beta$  [2],  $\iota$  [17],  $\kappa\delta$  [24]); four times, except for two “signatures” (quires  $\eta$  [8],  $\iota\alpha$  [11],  $\kappa\varsigma$  [26],  $\kappa\zeta$  [27]); three times, except for three “signatures” (quires  $\iota\epsilon$  [15],  $\iota\eta$  [18],  $\kappa\alpha$  [21]), and only once, except for four “signatures” out of sixteen (quire  $\kappa$  [20]).<sup>30</sup>

The remaining ten quires of the Menologium are irregular. When we consider only their complete sheets, we notice a roughly similar distribution of names. In three cases, the distribution is in perfect conformity with our principle (quires  $\gamma$  [3],  $\epsilon$  [5], and  $\theta$  [9]); once, the principle is disturbed in one miniature out of sixteen (quire  $\delta$  [4]); three times, in two miniatures: either two out of sixteen (quire  $\kappa\epsilon$  [25]), two out of twelve (quire  $\iota\delta$  [14]), or two out of four (quire  $\kappa\eta$  [28], the last one of the manuscript, consisting of a single sheet<sup>31</sup>); once, in three miniatures out of eight (quire  $\iota$  [10]); once, in four miniatures out of sixteen (quire  $\iota\theta$  [19]), and once in five miniatures out of twenty (quire  $\varsigma$  [6]).

Thus, in roughly one third of the manuscript’s quires (nine out of twenty-eight) the distribution of names follows the principle of one and the same name per sheet. In the remaining quires this principle is not strictly observed, but the incidence of sheets displaying only one kind of “signature” is considerably greater than the frequency which would be expected had the names been distributed at random.

A single sheet is, then, the basic unit to be investigated in a search for the significance of the Menologium’s names. The following table analyzes their distribution throughout the manuscript by sheet or, in the absence of a whole sheet, by folio with a stub (sheets obtained by gluing two folios together [e.g. pp. 132/133–138/139] are classed as two single folios with stubs in all tabulations):

Quire number	Sheets with 1 name	Sheets with two names,		Sheets with 3 names	Sheets with 4 names	Folios with stubs,	
		3:1 distribution	2:2 distribution			1 name	2 names
$\alpha$ (1)	3	1					
$\beta$ (2)	3	1					
$\gamma$ (3)	3						1
$\delta$ (4)	3	1				1	
$\epsilon$ (5)	2					1	
$\varsigma$ (6)	2	1	2				
$\zeta$ (7)	4						
$\eta$ (8)	2	2				1	3
$\theta$ (9)	2						
$\iota$ (10)		1	1				
$\iota\alpha$ (11)	2	2					
$\iota\beta$ (12)	4						

<sup>30</sup> Assuming a purely random distribution of up to eight names in a regular quire, the principle of having one and the same name for each sheet might be disturbed in as many as twelve “signatures” out of sixteen.

<sup>31</sup> If, indeed, it is a single sheet; the rulings suggest this, but a line of glue runs along the fold.

Quire number	Sheets with 1 name	Sheets with two names,		Sheets with 3 names	Sheets with 4 names	Folios with stubs,	
		3:1 distribution	2:2 distribution			1 name	2 names
ιγ (13)	4					2	
ιδ (14)	2		1				
ιε (15)	2	1	1				
ισ (16)	4						
ιζ (17)	3	1					
ιη (18)	2	1	1				
ιθ (19)	2		2			1	
κ (20)	2		1	1			
κα (21)	1	3					
κβ (22)	4						
κγ (23)	4						
κδ (24)	3	1					
κε (25)	2	2				1	
κς (26)	2	2					
κζ (27)	2	2					
κη (28)			1				
Totals	69	22	10	1	0	7	4

Out of the Menologium's one hundred and two sheets with four "signatures" each,<sup>32</sup> one hundred and one have only one or two different names. Sixty-nine—or more than two-thirds of the total—show one and the same name per sheet; twenty-two have two names, distributed so that on each sheet one name appears three times, and the other once; ten have two names, distributed so that on each sheet each name appears twice, either in the aa/bb or in the ab/ab sequence; only one out of a hundred and two sheets has three names,<sup>33</sup> and not a single sheet displays four different names.<sup>34</sup>

A number of the Menologium's "signatures" are written *in rasura* and thus reflect some hesitation on the part of the scribe. In most cases, the reason for this confusion is easily determined. As there were two Symeons, a "simple" Symeon and Symeon of Blachernae, and two Michaels, one of Blachernae and another called the Younger, the scribe had some difficulty in differentiating between these similar names. The point, however, is to see whether the scribe's emendations conform with the principle of one name per sheet or whether they are unrelated to it.

In all, thirteen names have been corrected in the manuscript. Of these corrections, four occur on four different sheets where the same name appears three times, and only the fourth attribution is in doubt. The correction is always to that name.<sup>35</sup> Once, two corrections were made on one sheet, with the

<sup>32</sup> There are one hundred and three sheets in the Menologium, but the first of them allows of no conclusions, since it bears only one name. On this sheet, cf. pp. 271–273 *infra*. The sheet pp. 362/362<sup>a</sup>–375/376 has only three names, since p. 362<sup>a</sup> is empty. To simplify, I include it in the group of one hundred and two.

<sup>33</sup> This one sheet (pp. 302/303–308/309) will be omitted from subsequent tabulations, except for the mention in note 39 *infra*.

<sup>34</sup> The latter combination, theoretically possible, would be expected to occur several times in a sample of a hundred and two sheets if the names had been distributed at random.

<sup>35</sup> 1. Sheet pp. 18/19–32/33 (Michael the Younger); on p. 18, the scribe started writing "Symeon," and changed to "Michael (the Younger)." 2. Sheet pp. 152/153–166/167 (Symeon of Blachernae); on

result that it now exhibits one and the same name throughout.<sup>36</sup> Finally, on one sheet all the names standing next to miniatures underwent corrections, which again brought about a conformity of name.<sup>37</sup>

Thus in nine instances, the corrections *restore* the principle of “one name—one sheet.”<sup>38</sup> In no single instance does a correction contradict this principle, since the four remaining changes occur either on a folio with a stub, or on sheets displaying two different names to begin with; consequently, these four instances<sup>39</sup> allow of no conclusions. The kind of regularity previously found in the distribution of the Menologium’s “signatures” is observed also in the distribution of the scribe’s corrections.

Such regularity would be inexplicable if one assumed, with Frolow, that the names refer to the sources after which one illuminator executed all the illustrations of the Menologium. If such a man ever existed, his selection of sources would have been dictated by the pictorial requirements of the commemorations on various days of the year, not by the mechanics of the manuscript’s constitution. On the other hand, a simple explanation offers itself if one attributes the relative regularity with which the names are distributed in the Menologium to the existence of a team of illuminators, working simultaneously so that, as a rule, each received one sheet at a time, to be adorned with four miniatures. Under such circumstances, it is not only conceivable, but certain, that the names standing next to the miniatures are the names of illuminators. Pantoleon, George, and the six others were miniaturists, not artists who made mosaics, frescoes, or portable icons.

This, however, still does not settle the second of our two initial questions. Are these illuminators also the painters of Basil II’s Menologium? The regularity which we discovered in the arrangement of this manuscript is considerable

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p. 152, the scribe wrote a name, erased it, and wrote “Symeon of Blachernae” underneath. 3. Sheet 248/249–262/263 (Symeon); on p. 248, there is an erasure following the word “Symeon”—here the scribe must originally have written “of Blachernae.” 4. Sheet 352/353–354/355 (Michael the Younger); on p. 353, the word “Younger” is written over an erasure—thus, the scribe must originally have written “of Blachernae.” Each of the first three changes occurs on the first recto of a new quire.

<sup>36</sup> Sheet pp. 236/237–242/243 (Symeon); on pp. 236 and 243, an erasure follows the word “Symeon”—in which the scribe must originally have written “of Blachernae.”

<sup>37</sup> Sheet pp. 362/362<sup>a</sup>–375/376 (Michael the Younger); on all pages except 362<sup>a</sup>, which is empty, the word “the Younger” is written *in rasura*—originally, the scribe must have written “of Blachernae.” Page 362 is the first recto of a quire.

<sup>38</sup> This is the more remarkable as the scribe was making his changes not on separate sheets, but after the quires had been put together; therefore, he may not have been aware that, for instance, when he corrected pages 236 and 243 of the manuscript, he was making his corrections on the same sheet.

<sup>39</sup> 1. Folio pp. 64/65 (Michael the Younger); on p. 64, small erasure in front of the name of Michael the Younger. 2. Sheet pp. 302/303–308/309 (Nestor [twice], Michael the Younger, Symeon of Blachernae); on p. 308, “the Younger” appears to be written over an erasure. 3. Sheet pp. 379/380–391/392 (Pantoleon [three times], George); on p. 391, the first part of “Pantoleon” is written over an erasure. 4. Sheet pp. 397/398–407/408 (Michael the Younger [three times], Nestor); on p. 397, “the Younger” is written over an erasure. Folio pp. 64/65 may originally have stood at the beginning of quire ε (5) (see remarks concerning pp. 64/65 in the diagram of quire δ [4]); thus the correction may have occurred on the first recto of a quire, as in four previous instances mentioned in notes 35 and 37 *supra*. The high incidence of error at the beginning of quires (cf. also note 6 *supra*) may indicate that the scribe filled in the text as soon as single quires had been illuminated, instead of waiting for the completion of the whole manuscript.

but not absolute. Could not departures from it be explained by the assumption that our Menologium is a relatively faithful copy, made by one anonymous artist (or several such artists) of another synaxarium, created (for another emperor ?) some time in the tenth century by Pantoleon, George, and six other masters? In this other manuscript the regular distribution of "signatures" was observed scrupulously, or at least much more consistently; in our Menologium the quires are somewhat differently arranged, perhaps owing to the omission of some of the original's miniatures, or to other reasons now impossible to ascertain. Thus the regularity of name distribution in our manuscript is disturbed, but not enough to obscure the original design.

The observation that the Menologium is not an archetype has been made before—applied to its text, it was advanced by H. Delehay; applied to its miniatures, it was stated in passing by Prof. Der Nersessian.<sup>40</sup> If applied to the names occurring in our manuscript, it would amount to a modified version of Frolov's theory. In contradiction to Frolov's contention, these eight names would be names of illuminators; but, in accordance with this contention, *Vaticanus Graecus* 1613, instead of being the creation of these eight artists, would be the work of one anonymous artist, or several such artists. If this were admitted, most difficulties would be removed: the names of illuminators occur in the Menologium because they were copied into it by its principal scribe from another manuscript, where they were true signatures, or true attributions. The monotony of the Menologium's miniatures is due to the fact that they are the work of one anonymous copyist (or several such copyists), who had a levelling effect on the stylistic individualities of the eight original illuminators. Since the copyist or copyists blurred the individual stylistic characteristics of these eight painters, modern scholars could not but disagree on the exact nature of these characteristics. But, since the copyist or copyists did not completely obliterate these individual traits, scholars who examined the manuscript by autopsy could still distinguish between miniatures provided with different names.

Such a compromise hypothesis is enticing; I must, however, reject it, for it does not fit a number of features observable in our manuscript.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, if an illustrated synaxarium, scrupulously observing the regular distribution of "signatures" had been copied so that some miniatures were omitted, this would

<sup>40</sup> H. Delehay, "Le Synaxaire de Sirmond," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XIV (1895), esp. pp. 406–407; *idem*, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*... (= *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*) (1902), col. xxiv (both statements contain some inexactitudes); S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium" (as in note 1 *supra*), pp. 225, 227, 229. These observations are true. The texts of Basil II's Menologium do presuppose sources of various sizes which had been adjusted to a standardized length (16 lines). The manuscript's miniatures also go back to pre-existing models, as is apparent from cases where the contents of the miniature do not correspond to the accompanying text (p. 204, Clement of Rome and other cases), or where the miniature had been retouched by the artist himself to bring the scene closer to the accompanying text (cf. *Il Menologio di Basilio II*... I, pp. XII–XIV). But our present problem is different. It is this: Is the Menologium of Basil II a copy of another manuscript almost identical with it in content, dimension, and arrangement, and very close to it in constitution, or is it not?

<sup>41</sup> Such as the minute stylistic traits common to miniatures bearing the same name, cf. pp. 265–267 *infra*.

have caused many more irregularities than actually occur in the Menologium.<sup>42</sup> The hypothetical synaxarium, the work of eight artists, would itself have to be a copy (see p. 274 *infra*), but its model could not be of a date earlier than the beginning of the tenth century, since some of the Menologium's miniatures represent saints who died about the year 900.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, if we accept the very plausible view of Prof. Der Nersessian, that the miniature on p. 238 depicts Lucas the Stylite who died in 979, we would have to squeeze a model, a synaxarium done by eight artists, and our Menologium all into the reign of Basil II. It is difficult to conceive of the production of so many subsequent editions of the same luxury volume under a single emperor. Less complicated causes could just as well account for at least some of the irregularities occurring in the distribution of names in a third of the Menologium's sheets.<sup>43a</sup>

In thirty-six instances two different names occur on the same sheet or folio of the Menologium. This is made clear in the following table:

Names	Combinations in sheets		Combinations in folios with stubs	Total number of combinations
	3:1 distribution	2:2 distribution		
Pantoleon with:				
Michael of Blachernae	I		I	2
George	10	4	I	15
Symeon of Blachernae	I			I
Michael of Blachernae with:				
Symeon		I		I
Symeon of Blachernae			I	I
George with:				
Symeon		I		I
Michael the Younger		I		I
Symeon of Blachernae	2			2
Michael the Younger with:				
Menas	I			I
Nestor	I			I
Symeon of Blachernae	I			I
Menas with:				
Nestor	3	2	I	6
Nestor with:				
Symeon of Blachernae	2	I		3
Total of combinations	22	10	4	36

<sup>42</sup> If one wanted to obtain the actual composition of the Menologium on the basis of this hypothesis, one would have to postulate quite extensive omissions from the supposed model. Thus this model would have had to be very large; moreover, it would have consisted of abnormally large quires, or of many irregular quires with a high incidence of inserted folios. All these assumptions are highly improbable.

<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the *corpus* of the synaxarium text was created not earlier than the reign of Leo VI, if not in the reign of Constantine VII. Cf. H. Delehay, *Synaxarium* . . . (as in note 40 *supra*), cols. LV–LVI.

<sup>43a</sup> One easy explanation would be to say that some erroneous attributions, violating our principle, remained undetected by the scribe. I do not invoke it, for it may also be argued that in some cases these erroneous "signatures" could by chance *restore* our principle. From the fact that the scribe did correct several of his attributions, I deduce that few, if any, errors remain in the Menologium's labels. The last word on "signatures" lies with the stylistic analysis, which should be avoided at this stage of our discussion.

In these instances each name is combined with two to five different names.<sup>44</sup> Thus the name of Symeon of Blachernae occurs in conjunction with those of Pantoleon, Michael of Blachernae, George, Michael the Younger, and Nestor. This links together six names out of eight, and leaves out only Symeon and Menas. But each of these two names is associated with two others which occur in conjunction with Symeon of Blachernae: Symeon, with George and Michael of Blachernae; Menas, with Michael the Younger and Nestor. Since our names are surely names of illuminators, we may conclude that at some time these illuminators formed a team working simultaneously in the same scriptorium.

In the sample of thirty-six cases, the names of illuminators are paired in thirteen different ways.<sup>44a</sup> While in most combinations (eight out of thirteen) two different names are coupled but once,<sup>45</sup> that of Pantoleon appears in conjunction with George fifteen times, and the name of Menas is combined with that of Nestor six times. I cannot assume with Frolov that, owing to chance, the one artist of the Menologium combined the sources "Pantoleon" and "George" with such unusual frequency on the recto and verso of the same folio.<sup>46</sup> I suggest that Pantoleon and George on the one hand, and Nestor and Menas on the other, were actual illuminators of the Menologium. I also suggest that the two artists of each pair stood in close relation to one another. George, who executed considerably fewer miniatures than Pantoleon (forty-five as opposed to seventy-nine) may have been the latter's pupil and assistant. Cooperation between Pantoleon and George within the same sheet would furnish one explanation why the principle "one name-one sheet" is occasionally violated in the Menologium.

One usually speaks of the eight painters of the Menologium. Such indeed is the total number of different names occurring next to the manuscript's miniatures. But if we note not only the pages on which a name appears first, but also those where it appears last, we find that never are more than six or seven different names present in two consecutive quires of the Menologium.<sup>47</sup> Thus the name of Symeon, which first occurs on page 8 (quire α [1]), is absent throughout the long stretch between pages 57 and 186 (altogether absent, therefore, from quires ε [5]–ιβ [12]), and disappears again from page 339 to the end of the manuscript (being altogether absent, therefore, from quires κγ [23]–κη [28]). The name of Menas, which first occurs on page 22 (quire β [2]), disappears entirely from the manuscript after page 125 (quire η [8]). The name of Symeon of Blachernae, whose first occurrence is on page 102 (quire ζ [7])—thus close to the point at which that of Menas disappears—is missing between pages 167 and 232

<sup>44</sup> Symeon and Menas with two; Pantoleon, Michael of Blachernae, and Nestor, with three; George and Michael the Younger, with four; Symeon of Blachernae, with five.

<sup>44a</sup> This may be deduced from the column "Names" of the table on p. 262.

<sup>45</sup> The combinations Pantoleon-Michael of Blachernae and George-Symeon of Blachernae occur twice each; the combination Nestor-Symeon of Blachernae occurs three times.

<sup>46</sup> Nor can I follow my "compromise hypothesis" and assume that, owing to the omission of a number of miniatures from the supposed more regular model of the Menologium, Pantoleon's miniatures now so frequently stand next to those of George.

<sup>47</sup> Occasionally, only five or even four different names are present, cf. quires ιγ (13)–ιδ (14) and κγ (23)–κδ (24).



(being altogether absent, therefore, from quires 1β [12]–1ε [15]). The following table shows the frequency with which the names occur in single quires of the manuscript; whenever a name satisfies the principle “one name-one sheet” at least once within a quire, the respective number of that name’s occurrences appears in bold face:

Names	Quires of September					Quires of October					Quires of November				Quires of December-February														Quires per name
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
Pantoleon	5			3		4		2	2	4	4		4	3	4	1	3	4	4	4		8	4	9	3	3			20
Michael of Blachernae	4		4	4	4	4		2			4	4	6	4		4	2			3	4				4	4			16
George	3			5		4		7	2	1			2	5		3	1	2	2	2					2	1	1	2	17
Symeon	4		4	4								4			4	4	2		2		4								9
Michael the Younger		9		2	2	8		8		1	4			4		4		4	1	4		4	3		7		2		16
Menas		7	5		4	7		4																					5
Nestor			1			5		4			8	8	4		4		4	6	6		8	4	3		1	5			15
Symeon of Blachernae						4		5	3	7					4		4	2	1	3			5	7		3			12
Number of names in two consecutive quires	6	7	—			7	7	—			6	5		7	7	6	7		4	6	6								

I explain this distribution of names by assuming that often a group of six or seven illuminators<sup>48</sup> was simultaneously illustrating two consecutive quires of the Menologium, each artist working on one sheet at a time. Such a method, at least, appears to have been adopted at the beginning of each month between September and December, when, as I further assume, the whole team started afresh on new quires.<sup>49</sup> But, as two quires normally have eight sheets, and as there were only seven or six (or fewer) artists to execute them, the work load had to be unevenly distributed. Assuming that seven artists were at work on two quires, three men might work on the first of them and four others on the second,<sup>50</sup> or vice versa.<sup>51</sup> In such a distribution, at least one of the three had to work on two sheets in the same quire, or one of the four on a sheet of the second quire as well. Assuming that six artists were at work on two consecutive quires, at least two had to work on two sheets each, either in the same quire,<sup>52</sup> or in two adjoining quires.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> From quire κγ (23) on, only six men may be assumed at work.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. the remarks on the relation between quires and months in the Menologium, p. 257 *supra*.

<sup>50</sup> This is best reflected in the distribution of names in quires ς (6)–ζ (7) and η (8)–θ (9).

<sup>51</sup> This is best reflected in the distribution of names in quires ιε (15)–ις (16).

<sup>52</sup> This is best reflected in the distribution of names in quires α (1)–β (2).

<sup>53</sup> This is partly reflected in the distribution of names in quires ιθ (19)–κ (20).

This uneven distribution of work load, combined with the uneven pace with which individual illuminators worked on their assignments,<sup>54</sup> might account for some of the departures from the principle "one artist-one sheet." Even so, certain miniaturists seem to have worked with great regularity throughout the manuscript. Michael of Blachernae, who participated in sixteen quires, executed separate sheets all by himself in thirteen of the quires; Symeon, who participated in nine quires, performed according to the principle "one artist-one sheet" in seven of them.<sup>54a</sup>

The postulated distribution of work is best preserved in the quires of the month of October (with seven artists active, at least in the first four quires of that month). There, the first quire was done by Michael the Younger, Menas, and Nestor; the second, by Pantoleon, Michael of Blachernae, George, and Symeon of Blachernae; the third, by the artists of the first quire; the fourth, by the artists of the second quire. The last, defective, quire of the month was apparently done by whatever artists were available for the task.

Up to this point, no stylistic criteria have been invoked in our discussion. By itself, a study of the Menologium's constitution offered a compelling argument for equating the manuscript's names with those of illuminators. But by itself, this study could do no more than to suggest that these illuminators were also the actual painters of the Menologium. To render this suggestion more convincing, it will be necessary to juxtapose the manuscript's analysis with observations on the style of some of its miniatures.

In order to avoid the difficulties encountered in previous attempts at a stylistic differentiation between groups of the Menologium's miniatures, it is advisable to isolate one stylistic trait for investigation, and to see whether this trait can be meaningfully correlated with miniatures bearing the same name. The trait selected should be secondary, not germane to the miniature's composition and not likely to have been taken over from a model, if there was one; the artist's individual habits or training should be likely to express themselves in such a trait. Moreover, our trait should be susceptible to quantification.

An ornament that appears on flat surfaces of walls and in spandrels of architectural backgrounds fulfills these requirements. In the case of Pantoleon, this tell-tale sign is a palmette with angular leaves (see figs. 1 and 2); in the case of the pair Nestor-Menas, whose names we found coupled six times on the recto and verso of the same folio, a lily-like ornament (see figs. 3, 4, and 5, 6).<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> On this point, cf. p. 269 *infra*.

<sup>54a</sup> If we consider the total number of complete sheets on which a name appears and relate it to the number of sheets bearing only that name, we obtain similar results. For Michael of Blachernae, the ratio is 15:13; for Symeon, 9:7; for Michael the Younger, 19:14. The ratio for other names is more uneven; it is particularly so for Pantoleon and George (25:9 and 21:3 respectively). But it had to be very uneven if Pantoleon was the master and George his assistant, and if the two often worked on the same sheet.

<sup>55</sup> The information on these two tell-tale signs is all that is given in the present article which is not based on autopsy. I used some excellent photographs especially made by the Vatican Library, the

From the total number of miniatures with architectural backgrounds occurring in the *Menologium*, I have eliminated those which either have no ornaments on flat surfaces of walls or in the spandrels, or which display only ornaments consisting of straight bars and circles.<sup>56</sup> The sample thus obtained consists of one hundred and sixteen miniatures.<sup>57</sup> Within this sample, twenty-six miniatures are attributed to Pantoleon. Twenty of them display the palmette with angular leaves,<sup>58</sup> and only six do not.<sup>59</sup> In the remaining ninety miniatures of the sample, attributed to other names, the palmette with angular leaves occurs only three (or five) times, of which two (or four) are in "George's" miniatures.<sup>60</sup> Of the nine miniatures<sup>61</sup> attributed to Menas in the sample, eight have the lily-like ornament;<sup>62</sup> of the seventeen miniatures attributed to Nestor in the same sample, thirteen (or fourteen) have the lily-like ornament or its variants.<sup>63</sup> In the remaining ninety miniatures of the sample, attributed to names other than Menas and Nestor, this latter ornament occurs only twice, once in a "Symeon of Blachernae" miniature,<sup>64</sup> and once in a "Michael the Younger" miniature.<sup>65</sup>

In this high incidence of palmettes with angular leaves in "Pantoleon's" relevant miniatures, and of the lily-like motifs in "Menas'" and "Nestor's" miniatures as compared to the rarity of these same motifs in the rest of the miniatures, I find a trace of the habits of individual illuminators. I conclude that Pantoleon, Menas, and Nestor not only were illuminators, but that they also executed those miniatures of the *Menologium* which are provided with

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facsimile edition of *Il Menologio di Basilio II...* (1907), and the earlier facsimiles of M. and V. I. Uspenskij (see note 1 *supra*). In one case (October, p. 74 = *Menologium* p. 149), the latter preserved the palmette with angular leaves not apparent in the facsimile of *Il Menologio*. The results thus obtained are subject to revision, but I am convinced that eventual corrections based on autopsy will not significantly change the numerical relations presented here.

<sup>56</sup> The latter elimination was made on the assumption that anyone could have used such simple ornaments or could have copied them from a model.

<sup>57</sup> Pp. 1, 2, 6, 12, 14-15, 17, 22-23, 29, 34-37, 46-47, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 67, 69, 73, 78, 81, 88, 94, 97-98, 100-101, 111, 115-116, 119, 121, 123-125, 134, 136-138, 142, 144, 146-149, 152, 154, 159, 164, 167, 169-171, 177, 181, 188, 190, 192, 200, 206, 208-209, 213, 216, 218, 222, 229, 232-234, 238-239, 249, 254, 256, 258, 270, 276, 279, 283, 285-286, 290, 294, 297, 302, 304-305, 307-308, 318, 349, 359, 366, 371, 373, 376-378, 381, 383, 393, 398, 406, 412, 415, 417, 423-424, 427, 429.

<sup>58</sup> Pp. 1, 98, 137, 146, 147, 170, 171, 181, 200, 234, 285, 304, 307, 349, 359, 366, 371, 381, 383, 406. Moreover, palmettes with angular leaves appear four times in Pantoleon's miniatures on sword sheaths; cf. pp. 58, 99, 109, 170.

<sup>59</sup> Pp. 2, 17, 58, 154, 305, 412. (P. 305 is a doubtful case, for its palmettes may be slightly angular).

<sup>60</sup> Pp. 149, 164 (George, in George-Pantoleon sheets), 233 (Symeon of Blachernae, clumsy execution of palmettes). P. 216 (George, again in a George-Pantoleon sheet) and p. 393 (George, in George-Symeon of Blachernae sheet) are doubtful cases.—Twice George's name is associated with the use of palmettes with angular leaves on weapons: once on a sword sheath (p. 148, cf. Pantoleon, note 58 *supra*); once, on a shield (p. 215). Pages 148 and 215 both occur in George-Pantoleon sheets. The present note and note 58 *supra* list all the twenty-nine or thirty-one occurrences of a palmette with angular leaves in the *Menologium*. Twenty-eight or thirty of them are in miniatures associated with Pantoleon's and George's names. This is in good accord with our previous (p. 263 *supra*) observations on a close relationship between these two. Cf. also note 54<sup>a</sup> *supra*.

<sup>61</sup> Pp. 22, 23, 29, 73, 78, 88, 94, 115, 125.

<sup>62</sup> All with the exception of p. 22.

<sup>63</sup> Pp. 123, 124, 169, 177, 190, 206, 208, 209, 238, 276, 415, 417. P. 290 is a doubtful case. Exceptions: pp. 116, 192, 302.

<sup>64</sup> P. 144.

<sup>65</sup> P. 283.

their names.<sup>66</sup> This answers the second of the two questions asked at the beginning of the present discussion.<sup>67</sup>

Those critics who remain unimpressed by the previously adduced statistics will relegate our palmettes and lily-like motifs to the various sources (or one model) of the Menologium's one anonymous painter (or several such painters), and will hold that this painter reproduced his sources in their every, even insignificant, detail. As these assumed sources are not available for inspection, it is impossible to provide a direct refutation of such an argument. But one can render it implausible in an indirect fashion. One can show that illuminators who were active about half a century after the Menologium's execution stopped short of reproducing all the ornamental details of this manuscript's miniatures in copies which they made from a model closely related to the Menologium.<sup>68</sup>

Two illuminated manuscripts and one group of fragments, all three reflecting the edition known as the Imperial Menologium,<sup>69</sup> have a number of miniatures remarkably close to those of our manuscript. Some of them correspond to miniatures of Pantoleon and Nestor which display the tell-tale traits singled out here. In MS 521 (16) of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore,<sup>70</sup> the miniature on fol. 61<sup>r</sup> has its counterpart on p. 307 (Pantoleon) of the Menologium (see figs. 7 and 8). It has similar ornaments on the architectural background, but the leaves of the palmettes—when they are repeated at all—are rounded. The miniature on fol. 234<sup>v</sup> corresponds to p. 349 (again Pantoleon); the ornament on its architectural background not only lacks square palmettes but otherwise differs from that of the Menologium's miniature (see figs. 9 and 10).<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> It follows that the remaining five names are also those of the Menologium's masters.—The distribution of secondary ornaments established above makes it unlikely that these ornaments were put on the miniatures as finishing touches by one or several anonymous apprentices.

<sup>67</sup> I quote here a stylistic appreciation of Pantoleon, compiled by me from notes which Prof. Mango took during our joint inspection of the Menologium in 1960: Pantoleon was certainly the master of the workshop; this is indicated not only by the fact that the first three miniatures are by his hand, but also by the consistent excellence of his work which greatly surpasses that of the other painters and is approached only by George. His style is distinguished by meticulous finish and attention to detail (e.g. p. 371 [see fig. 18] with a gold grapevine growing under the tree and exquisitely rendered shrubs lining the path: contrast this with p. 145 [fig. 19] by Symeon of Blachernae, where the composition is essentially the same, but the vegetation is rendered in a much more cursory manner), harmony of colors (never too blatant) with a special predilection for azure, very carefully executed and individualized heads (excellent faces and hair), and modelling by means of soft gradations of colors rather than by gold highlights, which he uses sparingly. When he uses it, his *chrysographia* is much finer than that of others. His draperies are executed with precision, without pedantry or hardness.

<sup>68</sup> For speculation that at least one of these miniatures may go back (but how?) to the Menologium itself, cf. note 73 *infra*.

<sup>69</sup> On the Imperial Menologium, cf. A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, III, 1 (1943) (= *Texte und Untersuchungen*... 52, 1), pp. 341–442, and the works cited in notes 70 and 72 *infra*.

<sup>70</sup> Identification with the former *Alexandria, Patriarchal Library*, 33 and description in F. Halkin, "Le mois de janvier du 'Ménologe Impérial' byzantin," *Analecta Bollandiana*, LVII (1939), pp. 225–236.

<sup>71</sup> It may be added that the miniature on fol. 307<sup>v</sup> (corresponding to p. 346 of the Menologium) has ornaments, while Pantoleon has none, and the miniature on fol. 56<sup>v</sup> (corresponding to the Menologium's p. 302, Nestor), has a different ornament on the architectural background.

In *Mosquensis Gr.* 376 (183),<sup>72</sup> the miniature on fol. 25<sup>v</sup> parallels p. 383 of the *Menologium* (Pantoleon, with tell-tale palmettes) (see figs. 11 and 12). This miniature does have palmettes, but of the ordinary type, with round leaves.<sup>73</sup> The miniature on fol. 120<sup>v</sup> of the *Mosquensis* has its parallel on p. 424 of the *Menologium* (Michael of Blachernae) (see figs. 13 and 14). It has palmettes, while Michael of Blachernae's has none, but again these palmettes, showing round leaves, differ from those peculiar to Pantoleon. Finally, among the fragments in the Benaki Museum at Athens,<sup>74</sup> miniature no. 1 corresponds to p. 177 of the *Menologium* (Nestor, with lily-like motif) (see figs. 15 and 16). It displays no ornaments whatsoever on the architectural background.

Thus, whenever it is possible to compare the relevant miniatures of the *Menologium* with their close parallels in other manuscripts, the two stylistic characteristics that we have chosen appear as "optional" traits. They are reproduced either not at all, or not faithfully, by other illuminators. On occasion, other motifs, reflecting the illuminators' individual habits or schooling, are substituted for them.

Several other secondary stylistic traits occurring in the *Menologium*'s miniatures can be correlated with particular names. Pantoleon and George, for instance (the latter being, according to our previous assumption, Pantoleon's close collaborator), show a marked preference for red and blue lily-shaped (or V-shaped) flowers with white inside; these flowers are located in the center of the plant. Pantoleon also paints round red and blue flowers, often with three white dots, and attaches them to very fine gold stems. George puts clusters of round, red, and blue flowers with three white dots into the centers of plants.<sup>75</sup> Pantoleon's miniatures contain more "nonfunctional" pagan idols<sup>76</sup> on sarcophagi, wells, and architectural backgrounds<sup>77</sup> than do the miniatures of all the other painters combined.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Description and texts: V. V. Latysev, *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt...*, I-II (St. Petersburg, 1911-1912); *idem*, "Vizantijskaja 'Carskaja' mineja," *Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk po istoriko-filol. otdeleniju*, XII, 7 (1915); description and reproduction of miniatures: D. K. Trenev and N. P. Popov, *Miniatures du ménologe grec du XI<sup>e</sup> s., No 183 de la Bibliothèque Synodale de Moscou...* (Moscow, 1911).

<sup>73</sup> The left palmette is of such a shape that one is tempted to assume that there were angular leaves in its original. Is it, therefore, a possible indication that this miniature of the *Mosquensis* somehow goes back to the *Menologium* itself rather than to a model closely related to it?

<sup>74</sup> I was able to inspect the photographs of these fragments of a *menologium* through the kindness of Prof. Der Nersessian.

<sup>75</sup> Observations on the treatment of flowers are based on Prof. Mango's notes.

<sup>76</sup> By nonfunctional idols, I mean classical figures (reliefs or statues) whose presence in the miniature is ornamental and not required by the accompanying text. Thus pp. 42 (Menas) with the passage καὶ ἔπεσον τὰ εἰδῶλα, or 187 (Symeon), where we read μὴ πεισθεὶς θῦσαι τοῖς εἰδώλοις, and four remaining similar instances of "functional" idols (pp. 125 [Menas: καὶ ἔπεσον τὰ εἰδῶλα], 127 [Michael the Younger, a sacrificial ram on an altar; cf. the text: τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν κείμενα κατέστρεψαν], 202 [Michael of Blachernae: Sisinnius turned people away ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης τῶν εἰδώλων], 283 [Michael the Younger: κρατήσας αὐτὴν ἠνάγκαζεν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ θῦσαι τοῖς εἰδώλοις]) have not been taken into account here.

<sup>77</sup> Eight instances in a sample of seventy-nine miniatures: pp. 3 (reliefs on sarcophagus), 13 (idol in city), 59 (idol in city), 146 (reliefs on well), 154 (reliefs on sarcophagus), 371 (idol on column), 391 (relief on sarcophagus), 406 (relief on sarcophagus). All of Pantoleon's idols are nonfunctional, showing this artist's classicizing bent. Does this indicate that he was an older man trained in the traditions of the mid-tenth century?

<sup>78</sup> Six or seven instances in a sample of three hundred and fifty-one miniatures: pp. 46 (Symeon, two naked putti with lance and shield), 74 (Michael of Blachernae, caryatids), 83 (Nestor, relief on sarco-

Admittedly, these correlations are less cogent than those previously adduced. Even more speculative are the deductions based on the speed with which each of the artists worked on his miniatures. There is no direct way of determining this pace; but the distribution of labor, assumed by us for the miniaturists, required that the work on one quire of the Menologium should be terminated at *roughly* the same time by all participants.

When we relate the number of miniatures accompanied by each of the Menologium's names to the number of quires in which each of these names occurs, we find Menas' name mentioned in 5.4 miniatures per quire, that of Nestor in 4.7 miniatures, Michael the Younger's in 4.2 miniatures, that of Symeon of Blachernae in 4 miniatures (the expected average speed in accordance with our principle), Pantoleon's in 3.9 miniatures, that of Michael of Blachernae in 3.8 miniatures, Symeon's in 3.5 miniatures, and George's in 2.7 miniatures (squaring well with the assistant's role which we have assigned to him). If there was a miniaturist of the Menologium called Menas, then, at 5.4 miniatures per quire, he would have been the speediest worker of the team, and we might expect his illuminations to show traces of haste. Indeed, as Prof. Mango independently observed, Menas' mountains, grounds, and vegetation are done in hasty brushwork, lacking finish. Menas' depiction of shrubs is very feeble (cf. pp. 25 and 76), his plants are sketchy (he often leaves a bare green ground), and his falling ("functional") idols clumsy—they appear to be walking vertically along the frame of the picture, or standing at an angle (cf. pp. 42 and 125 [= fig. 4]). The assumption that Menas, if he were one of the sources used by the single artist of the Menologium, just happened to be negligent in the execution of his details, and that—by chance—this source was chosen to the tune of 5.4 miniatures per quire (and only in the first part of the manuscript), seems less plausible.<sup>79</sup> Nestor, the next speediest miniaturist according to our surmise, also shows traces of haste in his work.<sup>80</sup>

There is little novelty in the assumption that, as a rule, the illustrators of the Menologium worked on single sheets without heeding the sequence of the text, and that this sequence was established later through the gathering of sheets into quires. Long ago C. R. Morey postulated that, generally, the same division of labor existed among the several artists of the Paris Psalter (*Parisinus Gr.* 139),<sup>81</sup> a tenth-century manuscript and thus not much older than the Menologium. Starting from H. Omont's reconstruction of the two original

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phagus), 100 (George, naked putto on wall), 105 (Symeon of Blachernae, reliefs on sarcophagus), 185 (Nestor, lion on building; this is not properly speaking an "idol"), 378 (Symeon of Blachernae, two statues holding draperies).

<sup>79</sup> As we remember, Menas' name disappears after p. 125. Had his work been so negligent that he was dismissed or relegated to a more humble task and replaced by Symeon of Blachernae (first occurrence on p. 102)?

<sup>80</sup> Sketchy mountains, hasty outlines of trees, scanty bushes, absence of flowers (in forty-four out of seventy-one miniatures), and frequently bare ground can be considered as signs of haste.

<sup>81</sup> C. R. Morey, "The Sources of Mediaeval Style," *Art Bulletin*, VII (1924), pp. 41-43, esp. p. 42, note 1; *idem*, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *Art Bulletin*, XI (1929), pp. 31-32.

quires in the illuminated part of this manuscript,<sup>82</sup> he assigned (with two exceptions) each sheet of those two quires to one hand.<sup>83</sup> Subsequently, Professor Weitzmann modified Morey's attributions, but, if I understand him correctly, his system does not affect the postulate of "one artist-one sheet" any more than Morey's does.<sup>84</sup>

In his attempt to distinguish among the illustrators' hands in the Vienna Genesis (*Vindobonensis Theol. Gr.* 31), Morey applied a somewhat different principle, that of "one artist-one quire." Unfortunately, he relied on a reconstruction of the manuscript which proved to be erroneous.<sup>85</sup>

Two later attempts to identify various painters in the Vienna Genesis could be based on an improved reconstruction of the manuscript.<sup>86</sup> In his attributions, H. Gerstinger<sup>87</sup> avowedly followed the principle of "one artist-one quire," but in fact he once postulated two artists in one quire of which only two sheets remain; thus each of his artists executed one full sheet, which is the system I assume for the Menologium; once this same scholar even supposed that two miniaturists (a master and his helper) had painted one sheet, which parallels the cases in the Menologium where the names of Pantoleon and George appear on different folios of the same sheet. The other attempt, that of P. Buberl,<sup>88</sup> was consistent in its adherence to the principle of "one artist-one (regular) quire." But in the case of the Vienna Genesis, as now reconstructed, the difference between this principle and the "one artist-one sheet" principle is academic, since in no instance do more than two sheets—and usually only one—remain in each of the twelve regular quires postulated for the original manuscript.<sup>89</sup>

Scholars who studied the Paris Psalter and the Vienna Genesis dealt with defective manuscripts, whose original constitution had to be reconstructed, and with miniatures done by anonymous artists, whose identity had to be ascertained by stylistic considerations alone. It is not surprising that these scholars have differed somewhat in their attributions; nor is it surprising, on the other hand, that each scholar's attributions and, even more, his reconstructions

<sup>82</sup> E.g. in H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1929), pp. 5–6.

<sup>83</sup> According to Morey, on two sheets one miniature was painted by the main artist, the other by his (bungling) assistant.

<sup>84</sup> K. Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter . . . und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, VI (1929), esp. p. 191 and note 1. Due to a misprint, fol. 6<sup>v</sup> is attributed twice: once to hand B, another time to hand C. I assume that the intended attribution was 6<sup>v</sup>:C and 7<sup>v</sup>:B.

<sup>85</sup> The reconstruction was W. v. Hartel's, in W. v. Hartel-F. Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis* (1895), p. 134 (the manuscript's quires are said to have been binions throughout); cf. pp. 143–145 for the identification of various hands; the postulated principle of distribution of work is by binions.

<sup>86</sup> By H. Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis* . . . (1931), pp. 42–48, who postulates twelve regular quires.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 168–170.

<sup>88</sup> P. Buberl, "Das Problem der Wiener Genesis," (as in note 27 *supra*), pp. 9–58, esp. pp. 10–14. Cf. *idem*, *Byzantinische Handschriften*, 1 (= *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illum. Hss. in Oesterreich*, N.F. IV [1937]), pp. 77–81.

<sup>89</sup> P. Buberl ("Das Problem . . .," pp. 16, 24) imagines the individual artist's procedure in making four miniatures as follows: the artist illustrates (without considering the page sequence) first the whole flesh side, then the whole hair side of the sheet, or *vice versa*. Thus, whether sheets or quires were assigned to individual painters, a single sheet remains the basic unit of work. I do not wish to maintain that distribution by sheet was the only system adopted by teams of Byzantine miniaturists, or that it was used at all times. A superficial inspection of the Seraglio Octateuch, for instance (Istanbul, *Seragliensis Gr.* 8), suggests distribution by quire. The constitution of this manuscript deserves detailed analysis.

have been characterized by astonishing regularity. The less there remains of a manuscript, the more regular its reconstructed constitution appears. In the Menologium of Basil II, which is almost completely preserved, many of the quires turn out to be irregular; moreover, each of its four hundred and thirty miniatures is provided with a name. We should not be surprised that in the case of the Menologium, where very little room for speculation is left and where we are dealing with a particularly large number of illustrations, the principle of "one artist-one sheet" is valid in only two-thirds of the sheets.

Some room for speculation on the Menologium's composition does remain, however. It is offered, *inter alia*, by the manuscript's first sheet, standing in front of the numbered quires. Its page A contains the poem in which "Basil, reared in purple robes," that is, Basil II, is mentioned. Pages B and C are empty. The last page of the sheet (= page 1 of the continuous pagination) displays the Menologium's first miniature, attributed to Pantoleon. It celebrates the indiction or the beginning of the new year, and illustrates the passage Luke 4:18. Its caption runs: μήν Σεπτέμβριος. καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἰνδίκτου: "Month of September, and the beginning of the indiction."

However, the heading of the next miniature (p. 2, the first recto of a quire) starts with the words μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ α', "On the first of September," and an analogous formula appears at the beginning of each of the five subsequent months covered by the Menologium (pp. 76, 152, 216, 287, 363; thus never "Month of October" etc.). Either the original intention was to begin the Menologium with what is now the miniature on page 2, or an error had occurred in the planning of the first quire, so that the commemoration of the indiction was left out.<sup>90</sup> Four other arguments may be adduced for the assumption that the present position of the Menologium's first miniature is the result of an afterthought. The first unnumbered sheet may in reality be two separate folios (cf. the diagram on p. 250 *supra*); therefore, folio C/1, containing our miniature, could conceivably be a replacement. This miniature stands on a verso, an unusual position for the first illumination of a codex. It is the Menologium's only miniature situated in the upper half of a page which is followed by a similarly situated miniature; everywhere else in the manuscript, miniatures in the upper half of a page alternate with miniatures in the lower half. Finally, folio C/1 is the only folio of the manuscript which has no rulings: thus originally no half-page miniature with sixteen lines of text was intended either for page C or for page 1.

The last observation opens the way for speculating on what may have been intended for page C, a recto.

For the beginning of the Menologium, we possess a parallel in the Venice

<sup>90</sup> The commemoration of the indiction seems to constitute the regular opening of other synaxaria; cf. H. Delehay, *Synaxarium* . . . (as in note 40 *supra*), cols. 2-6: all witnesses, except the oldest one, Jerusalem, Τμήνου Σταυροῦ 40, which opens with the equivalent of our miniature p. 2 (Symeon the Stylite) but has the "indiction" later under the commemorations for September 1; still, this early manuscript (X-XI c.) shows that at the time of our Menologium a synaxarium could open with Symeon the Stylite.



Psalter (*Marcianus Gr. 17* [N. C. 421]), another luxury manuscript executed under the auspices of Basil II.<sup>91</sup> Both manuscripts open with an iambic poem written in semiuncial letters, but, while the Psalter's poem (fol. II<sup>v</sup>) is followed by a full page miniature (fol. III<sup>r</sup>), the poem of the Menologium is followed by two empty pages, B and C.

In pedestrian translation, the poem of the Psalter runs as follows: "A strange marvel is to be seen here: from Heaven, Christ, in his life-bringing right, extends the crown, the symbol of power, to Basil, the pious and mighty Ruler. Below are the foremost <two> of the incorporeal Beings: one of them has taken <the crown>, brought it down, and is joyfully crowning <the Emperor>; the other, adding victories to the <symbol of> power, is placing the sword, a weapon that frightens the enemies away, in the ruler's hand. The martyrs are his allies, for he is their friend. They smite <his enemies> who are lying at his feet."<sup>92</sup>

Christ above, archangels below; Basil, crowned and given a sword; martyrs; enemies at the Emperor's feet: we dismiss some inexactitudes (a sword is not a lance; "martyrs" is too vague for military saints); we recognize that the "marvel" (θαῦμα) to be seen "here" (ᾧδε) occurs on the full-page miniature (fol. III<sup>r</sup>) of the Psalter (see fig. 17).

Here is a translation of the poem in the Menologium: "Do thou, O beholder, duly contemplate here the most exquisite of works, made of the best deeds [?], a most beautiful work of God, astounding to the mind, a work which, with reason, fills the whole Creation with joy. For above, Himself as God and Lord, who has painted the Heavens with a circling motion of stars—the Heavens which, by His Word, He stretched out like a curtain of leather [cf. Ps. 103:2]—illuminates the World through his all-wise forethought. Below, Basil, the one who mirrors Him in his character, ruler of the whole Earth, Sun of the purple, reared in purple robes, excelling both in victories and in learning, gladdens the minds of all the Orthodox and cheers all contemplation with delight, having created a book truly like unto another Heaven, stretched out from sheets of leather

<sup>91</sup> Summary description and bibliography in the Catalogue *Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura, Palazzo di Venezia-Roma* (1953), p. 9. Stylistic analysis of illustrations has led most art historians to place the Menologium in the earlier part of Basil II's reign, and the Venice Psalter in the latter part (ca. 1019, such a date being suggested by the references, textual and pictorial, to the Bulgarian enemies vanquished by the Emperor). The two works show a close resemblance in dimensions (Menologium: 363 × 287 mm., after several croppings; Psalter: 388 × 298 mm.), script and make-up. Considered as books, they could have been executed only a few years apart, or could even have been contemporaneous.

<sup>92</sup>

Τὸ θαῦμα καινὸν ᾧδε τῶν ὁρωμένων.  
Χριστὸς προτείνει δεξιᾷ ζωηφόρῳ  
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ στέμμα, σύμβολον κράτους,  
πιστῷ κραταιῷ δεσπότη Βασιλεῖ.  
κάτοθεν [*sic*] οἱ πρῶτιστοι τῶν Ἀσωμάτων,  
ὁ μὲν λαβὼν ἤνεγκε καὶ χαίρων στέφει,  
ὁ δέ, προσάπτων κράτει καὶ τὰς νίκας,  
ρομφαίαν, ὄπλον ἐκφοβοῦν ἐναντίους,  
φέρων δίδωσι χειρὶ τῇ τοῦ δεσπότη.  
οἱ μάρτυρες δὲ συμμαχοῦσιν ὡς φίλῳ,  
ρίπτοντες τοὺς ποσὶ προκειμένους.

Text transcribed from the manuscript. Also printed in J. Morelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta graeca et latina*, I (1802), pp. 34–35.

provided by Nature. This book contains beautiful images like stars: first, of the Word, both God and Man, then of the Mother who gave immaculate birth; of wise prophets, martyrs, and apostles, of all the righteous, of angels and archangels. In all those whom he has portrayed in colors, may he find active helpers, sustainers of the State, allies in battles, deliverers from sufferings, healers in sickness, and above all, eager mediators before the Lord at the time of Judgment, and providers of ineffable glory and the Kingdom of God.”<sup>93</sup>

What is the “work” (ἔργον) which the onlooker is exhorted to contemplate “here” (ἐνταῦθα)? It can hardly be the Menologium itself, for the work in question is called a “work of God” (ἔργον θεοῦ), “gladdening the whole Creation” (τέρπον πᾶσαν . . . κτίσιν), attribute and effect incompatible with a mere book, however sumptuous. I doubt that the “work” described here is the execution of the Menologium at Basil II’s behest. The nature of this work is spelled out in lines five and following of the poem (cf. γάρ in line five). It is a mystical fact, similar to the “visible miracle” referred to in the Psalter’s poem. Above (ἄνω), Christ (cf. the expression “as Lord and God,” ὡς θεὸς καὶ δεσπότης), the Creator of Heaven and of the luminaries, rules the Universe; below (κάτω δ’), Basil, His imitator on Earth, rules this World.<sup>94</sup> I speculate that the first part of the Menologium’s poem gives the contents of a full-page miniature representing Christ above and Basil below, both reigning in their respective spheres. Such a miniature could have stood on a folio which is now missing; or it could have been intended for page C and never have been executed, perhaps because page 1 (the verso of C)<sup>95</sup> had to be used for the miniature illustrating the indiction.

Information given in the second part of the Menologium’s poem corresponds roughly, but not exactly, to the actual contents of the manuscript. True, “first” (πρῶτον μὲν) we see the miniature of Christ, but what follows “then” (ἔπειτα) is not a miniature representing the Virgin. At present, the most likely explanation is that the intention of the poem was to give only a general indication of the Menologium’s contents.<sup>96</sup> But the poem may hide problems which for the time being must wait for solution.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Greek text printed in H. Delehay, *Synaxarium* . . . (as in note 40 *supra*), cols. XXV–XXVI; charming Russian translation in Sergij, *Polnyj mesjaceslov* . . . (as in note 1 *supra*), p. 217.

<sup>94</sup> The parallelism between the two orders is carried out in some detail: the star-studded Heaven, that “leather curtain” “painted” by God, has its counterpart in the Menologium “painted” by Basil; it is another Heaven, made of natural leather and containing Saints as luminaries.

<sup>95</sup> In many full-page miniatures, one side is left empty to avoid the running together of colors. Such is the arrangement in the Paris Psalter and in the *Sinaiticus Gr.* 204 (both X c.).

<sup>96</sup> The sequence in the poem’s enumeration of pictures may faintly reflect the formula of the Second Council of Nicaea which re-established the veneration τῆς τε τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνης, καὶ τῆς ἀχράντου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου, τιμίων τε ἀγγέλων, καὶ πάντων ἁγίων καὶ ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν. Cf., e.g., H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* . . . (31st ed., 1957), no. 302.

<sup>97</sup> There is no guaranty that our poem had not been taken over from another manuscript, made at the behest of another emperor, in which there could have been a closer correspondence between the poem’s text and the manuscript’s contents. The only change required would have concerned the emperor’s name. For instance, Κωνσταντῖνος (Porphyrogenitus; certainly “reared in purple robes” and “excelling in learning”) scans at least as well as Βασίλειος at the beginning of the line.—Some textual similarities to our poem are offered in the following Greek verses of a Georgian Menologium executed in Constantinople in the year 1030 (Tbilisi, *Gosudarstvennyj Muzej Gruzii*, MS A 648, fol. 142<sup>r</sup>; previous publication [with misprints]: J. Strzygowski, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar* [1891], p. 79, note 3):

Βίβλω γραφείσας τῇδε τὰς καθ’ ἡμέραν  
μνήμας ἑορτὰς τοῦ χρόνου παντὸς βλέπων,

Discussing the division of labor practiced among the miniaturists of the Vienna Genesis, Buberl maintained that such a system made sense only if a manuscript had to be executed with speed, and if many copies of the same manuscript had to be produced after a ready model. Assuming a distribution of work by quire, one and the same artist would always paint the same miniatures in each copy. Buberl concluded that the Vienna Genesis was not a unique manuscript made *ad hoc*, but just one survivor among the several copies of a luxury edition.<sup>98</sup>

Some—but only some—of these conclusions may be applied to the Menologium. The need for speedy execution must have prompted the decision to distribute the work among several artists. In addition, the distribution of work by sheet strongly suggests the existence of a ready model (or models) for the Menologium. One does not collectively *compose* hundreds of illuminations of a manuscript in such a mechanical and disjointed way. To say exactly what this model may have been is beyond both my competence and the scope of the present article. I hesitate to believe, as Professor Weitzmann seems to,<sup>99</sup> that Prophet Books, lectionaries, Octateuchs and the like were the *immediate* models for the painters of the Menologium. A direct utilization of such sources may be postulated for the stage at which the *corpus* of the synaxarium miniatures was created. This must have happened somewhat earlier.<sup>100</sup> With several exceptions, the illustrations of Basil II's Menologium appear to me as the work of illuminator-copyists, not of illuminator-adaptors or inventors.

- τοῦ ζωγράφου θαύμαζε τὴν εὐτεχνίαν.  
καὶ γὰρ νοητὸς ὡς πόλος τὸ βιβλίον  
5 Χριστὸν νοητὸν ἥλιον μέσον φέρει,  
καὶ πανσέληνον τὴν τεκούσαν παρθένον,  
ὡς ἀστέρας κύκλῳ δὲ φρυκτωρουμένους  
πάντων δικαίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος χορούς,  
τοὺς εὐαρεστήσαντας αὐτῷ γνησίως.  
10 πίστις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ πονεῖ καὶ προσφέρει,  
καὶ ποτνιάται καὶ νεουργεῖ καὶ γράφει  
Ζαχαρίου καλογήρου τοῦ Ἰβήρου. ὦ θεῖος ἔρω.

1: γραφῆσας. 4: νοητος. 6: τεκούσαν. 7: φρυκτωρουμένους. 8: χορούς at the end of the verse is an error in the Byzantine dodecasyllable on account of the word's accent on the *ultima*. 11: ποτνιᾶται || νεουργεῖ: does this error reveal a non-Greek scribe? || γράφει. 12: ἡβήρου || ἔρος.]. Translation: "Beholding the commemorations and feasts for the whole year inscribed in the present book day by day, do thou admire the skill of the painter. For, like unto the intelligible Heaven, this book contains Christ, the intelligible sun; like unto the full moon, the Virgin, who gave birth to Him; like unto a circle of beaconing stars, the choirs of all the Righteous, from the beginning of time, who have truly pleased Him. The imploring faith of monk Zacharias the Georgian executed, offered, restored, and wrote all this. O Divine Love."

The name of the monk Zacharias the Georgian scans very badly in the verse. We may therefore assume that Zacharias appropriated a poem which originally had been written for a manuscript ordered by another donor, whose name fitted better into the line. The Tbilisi Menologium does not open with the miniatures of Christ and of the Virgin. For the same symbolism (Christ = the sun; Virgin Mary = the moon; apostles = stars), cf. Constantine Rhodius' description of the Church of the Holy Apostles (in *Revue des études grecques*, IX [1896]), v. 737 ff.; N. Bees in *Rep. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXIX (1916), pp. 244–245. I owe the photostat of the Tbilisi poem to the kindness of Prof. Der Nersessian.

<sup>98</sup> P. Buberl, "Das Problem der Wiener Genesis" (as in note 27 *supra*), pp. 24, 55.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. p. 246 *supra*.

<sup>100</sup> This is a mere detail, for this corpus came into being after the compilation of the synaxarium's text in the tenth century, cf. note 43 *supra*. It could even have been assembled very shortly before our Menologium's execution. But the *Vaticanus Gr.* 1613 already presupposes the existence of a unified body of synaxarium miniatures.

The Vatican Menologium continues to offer a number of puzzles, all related to each other. At present, it is difficult to decide whether this manuscript is a *unicum*, executed for Basil II, or whether it is a single surviving copy of a deluxe edition made under the auspices of that Emperor.<sup>101</sup> The text accompanying the miniatures is absent from some of the Menologium's pages, but we cannot, in each case, give the reason for its omission.<sup>102</sup> We are convinced that the Menologium goes back to a model, or models; but we do not precisely know what they looked like.<sup>103</sup> We are not able to describe in detail all of the various

<sup>101</sup> There are reasons to believe that the Menologium is a *unicum*: the irregularities in its constitution and its pages void of text are too numerous for a mere *exemplar* of an edition, however limited. Putting several painters to work on a unique copy would have been a reasonable procedure, even if its sole aim was speed of execution. On the other hand, the dedicatory poem addresses an onlooker, and goes on to praise Basil II, the "maker" of the Menologium, in the third person. This is better suited to an imperial gift (one of several) for a high dignitary or a foreign ruler than to a work produced for the Emperor.

<sup>102</sup> The most thorough previous discussion of the Menologium's seventeen miniatures not accompanied by a text is that by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Remarks on the Date of the Menologium..." (as in note 2 *supra*), pp. 116–125. Out of fifteen saints (or couples of saints) represented by miniatures, but not praised in words (pp. 289, 303, 313, 320, 370, 377, 381, 386, 391, 398, 400, 402, 415, 418, 425), fourteen are mentioned only by name (or not mentioned at all) under the same, or approximately the same, days in one or another of the fifty-nine synaxaria (almost all later than our Menologium) discussed by H. Delehaye in *Synaxarium*... (as in note 40 *supra*). [Counter-check: out of the Menologium's thirty-five saints praised in the first half of October, all thirty-five have short notices in H. Delehaye's synaxaria.] Moreover, twelve out of fifteen miniatures in this group show simple portraits of the saints, or represent them in an attitude of prayer, or—in one case entitled "invention of relics"—depict a standard invention of relics. Thus all these twelve miniatures contain nothing that could not have been deduced from the mere mention of the saints' names. While H. Delehaye's edition is not exhaustive, its impressive negative evidence, coupled with the banality of most of the miniatures under discussion, suggests that the main reason for the absence of the accompanying text in the Menologium's fifteen "titled" miniatures is that no stories on relevant saints were available to the compiler of the standardized sixteen-line texts, which we find elsewhere in the Menologium, or to the miniaturists called upon to depict these saints. This could mean that a slip occurred in the planning of the Menologium (or its model). The saints and feasts to be included in it may have been selected from a calendar or the table of contents of a synaxarium, where it was not apparent which saints had a story to their credit and which had not; at the preparatory stage in the work on the Menologium, the date and the name of the saint would have been indicated at the top of each page (such indications to be cut off at the time of the binding). When it came to the execution of the pages for which no detailed information was available, the miniaturists—who set to work first, cf. p. 245 *supra*—solved their predicament by merely portraying the saints; the scribe solved his by doing nothing. The above explanation must remain conjectural as long as the question of the Menologium's model remains unsolved.—It is worth observing that all the "titled" miniatures not accompanied by a text occur in the last two months of the Menologium. I do not know the reason for this.—The two miniatures lacking both the title and the accompanying text present an additional difficulty, for we must conjecture whom they depict. If we admit Prof. Der Nersessian's plausible identifications of p. 238 with Lucas the Stylite and of p. 286 with the Prophet Obadiah, we may say that the text is absent from the first miniature because none had yet been composed for that Saint (who died in 979) by the time of the Menologium's execution. As for the "Obadiah" miniature, the reason adduced for the fifteen "titled" miniatures would apply as well: the synaxaria considered by H. Delehaye contain only a bare mention of that Prophet. Cf. similar considerations in Sergij, *Polnyj mesjaceslov*... (as in note 1 *supra*), pp. 220–223.

<sup>103</sup> There is no end to conjectures. The model (or models), in book form, may have been dismembered and its (or their) single sheets handed out to individual artists. But it is also conceivable that the model miniatures had been painted on separate pages and kept in the scriptorium's archive. One—much later—Byzantine parallel to the latter conjecture is described in the letter of Epiphanius the Wise to Cyril of Tver'. Some time before 1408, the famous emigré artist Theophanes the Greek, then dwelling in Moscow, painted, on a separate sheet, the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople—with the near-by column of Justinian thrown in for good measure—for Epiphanius' edification. Later, this sheet was copied not only by Epiphanius himself, who repeated it four times in his Gospelbook, but also by many Muscovite artists, who "copied one from another." Text of Epiphanius' letter (date: 1415) e.g. in V. N. Lazarev, *Feofan Grek i ego škola* (1961), pp. 113–114; modern Russian translation *ibidem*, pp. 8–10; for earlier editions, cf. *ibidem*, p. 7, note 1. The letter also mentions pattern books.

steps involved in the Menologium's production.<sup>104</sup> These problems may be solved in the future, both through a more meticulous study of the Menologium itself, and through insights gained from analyzing the constitution of other Byzantine manuscripts with large cycles of illuminations.

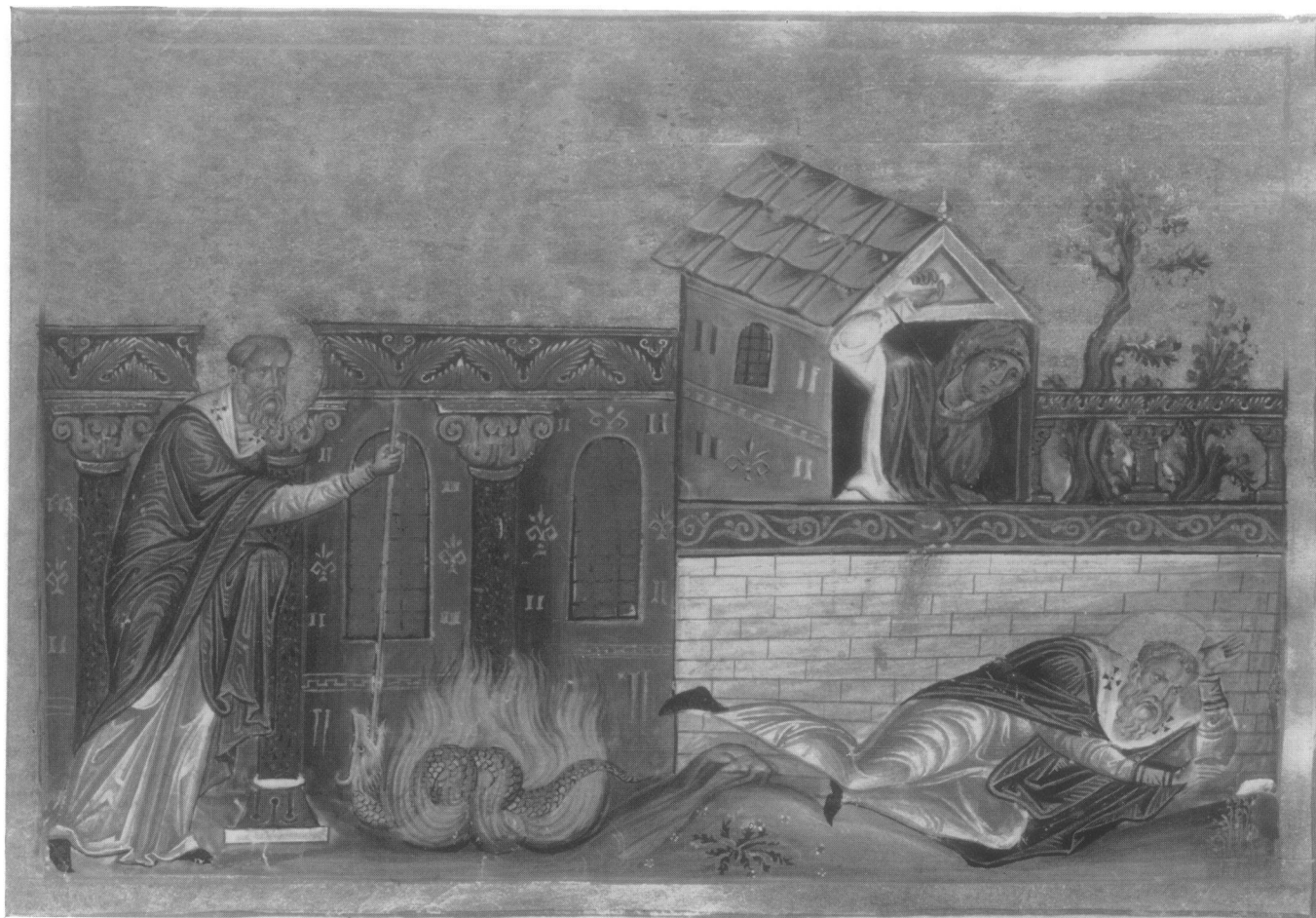
The purpose of the preceding observations was more limited. It was to offer verifiable support to the *communis opinio* that the miniatures of *Vaticanus Gr. 1613* are the work of illuminators whose names stand on the pages of this manuscript. It was also to suggest that, when dealing with Byzantine illuminated manuscripts, codicology and art history cannot afford to go their separate ways.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>104</sup> I imagine that the names of illuminators were first indicated at the top of each page (perhaps by the painters themselves—these would have been the true signatures whose absence disturbed Frolov), to serve as guides for the main scribe, who copied them next to each miniature. These indications of names—and the instructions concerning dates and names of saints, postulated in note 102 *supra*—were then cut off at the time of the binding.

<sup>105</sup> Dr. Marek Fisz, Professor of Mathematics at New York University, has kindly submitted the basic assertion of the present article to statistical analysis. Only the one hundred and two complete sheets of the manuscript have been investigated. Thus the sample analyzed consists of four hundred and seven miniatures, twenty-three less than the total. Moreover, analyses have been undertaken for Pantoleon, Michael of Blachernae, Symeon, Menas, and Nestor; that is, for only five out of eight names. According to Professor Fisz, these differences do not significantly affect the conclusions reached in the analysis. His investigation has shown that the Menologium's names are not distributed at random. More specifically, the probability that they are so distributed is less than one in a million. This, as Professor Fisz puts it, "would be in favor" of my "assertion that, as a rule, the sheets were meant to be painted by individual painters, while the observed deviations from that rule, namely, cases in which some sheets are provided with several names, and thus presumably were painted by several painters, were due to random causes."



1. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 137 (Pantoleon)



2. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 181 (Pantoleon)

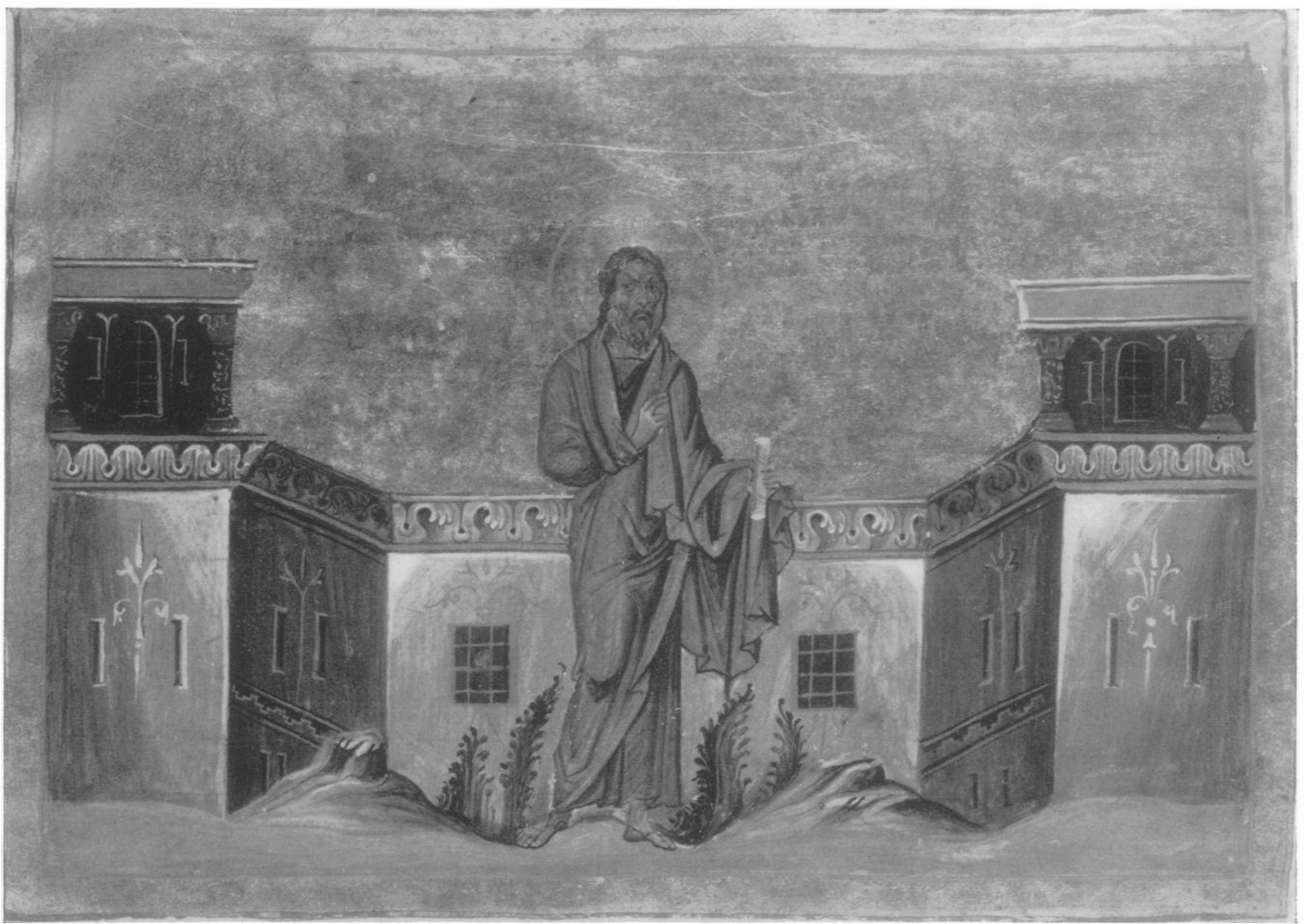




3. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 73 (Menas)



4. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 125 (Menas)



5. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 124 (Nestor)



6. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 208 (Nestor)





7. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. MS 521 (16), fol. 61<sup>r</sup>: January 10, Markianos



8. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 307 (Pantoleon): January 10, Markianos



9. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. MS 521 (16), fol. 234<sup>v</sup> : January 25, Gregory of Nazianzus



10. *Vaticanus Gr.* 1613, p. 349 (Pantoleon) : January 25, Gregory of Nazianzus



11. *Mosquensis Gr. 376* (183), fol. 25<sup>v</sup>: February 8, Theodore Stratelates



12. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 383 (Pantoleon): February 8, Theodore Stratelates

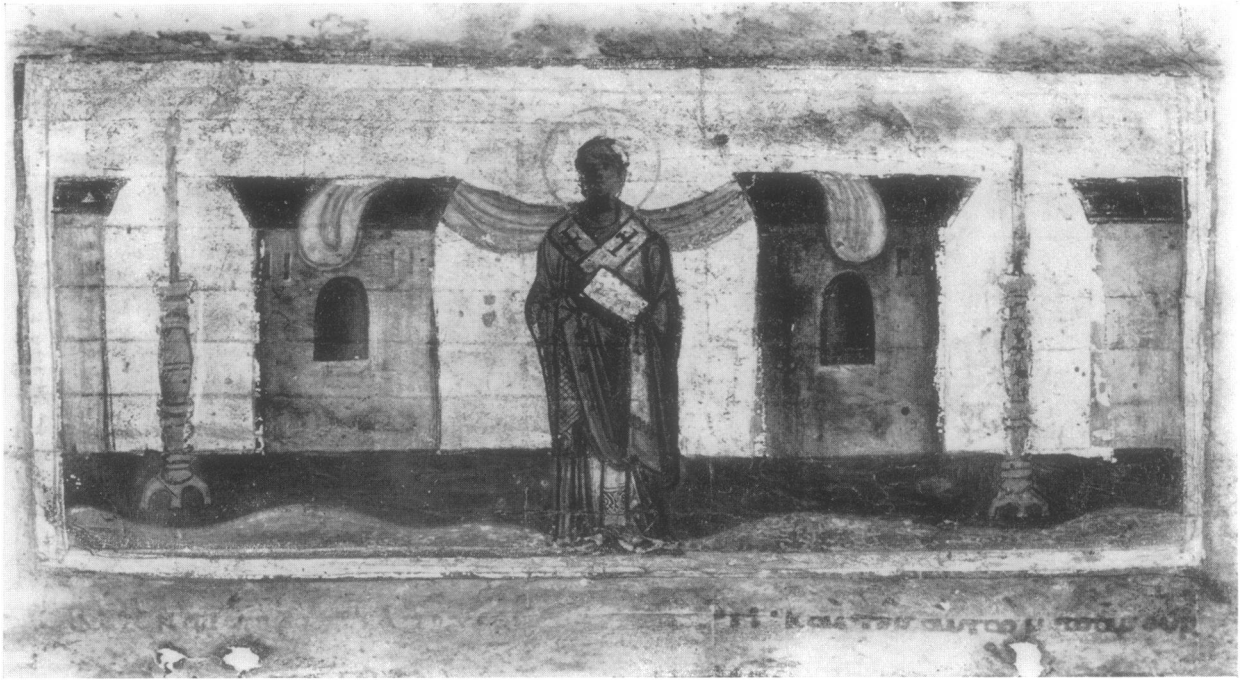




13. *Mosquensis Gr. 376* (183), fol. 120<sup>v</sup>: February 26, Porphyrios of Gaza



14. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 424 (Michael of Blachernae): February 26, Porphyrios of Gaza



15. Athens, Benaki Museum. Menologium, fragment 1: November 12, John the Almsgiver



16. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 177 (Nestor): November 12, John the Almsgiver



17. *Marcianus Gr. 17* (N.C. 421), fol. III<sup>r</sup>





18. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 371 (Pantoleon)



19. *Vaticanus Gr. 1613*, p. 145 (Symeon of Blachernae)